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PUBLICATIONS OF  
THE CHAMPLAIN  
SOCIETY

THE JOURNAL OF  
CAPTAIN JOHN KNOX

VOLUME III—APPENDIX



TORONTO  
THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY



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APPENDIX TO AN  
HISTORICAL JOURNAL  
OF THE CAMPAIGNS IN  
NORTH AMERICA

For the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760

BY  
CAPTAIN JOHN KNOX

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, APPENDIX  
AND INDEX BY

ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY

IN THREE VOLUMES  
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# APPENDIX

## I

JOURNALS OF MAJOR-GENERAL JEFFERY AMHERST AND COLONEL WILLIAM AMHERST, 1758-1760.

PART I.—From May 28 to July 23, 1758: *Public Record Office, London, C.O. 5, vol. 53; transcripts in Canadian Archives. From July 24 to July 27, 1758: Canadian Archives, original letter signed by Jeffery Amherst, July 27, 1758, enclosing Articles of Capitulation by the Chevalier de Drucour.*

[C.O. 5, Vol. 53, p. 169.]

Camp before Louisburg 11<sup>th</sup> June 1758.

Sir

The last opportunity I had of writing to you, was on the 17<sup>th</sup> May; by a Virginia-Man bound to England. I then acquainted you with my expectation of seeing Halifax in a day or two, but the later part of my Voyage, by contrary winds and Fogs, proved as tedious as the first, 'till I had the good fortune of meeting Admiral Boscawen with the Fleet and the Troops coming out of the Harbour of Halifax on the 28<sup>th</sup>. Lt. Genl. Bragg's Regiment from the Bay of Fundy, joyned the Fleet this day.

The 29<sup>th</sup>, we had fine weather, the Ships kept well together, the whole consisted of 157 Sail, the Dublin went very sickly into Halifax.

VOL. III.

A

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The 30<sup>th</sup>, The Wind blew hard in the Afternoon, the Ships were greatly dispersed.

The 31<sup>st</sup>, the Wind sometimes contrary, obliged us to Tack, and it blew fresh :

The 1<sup>st</sup> of June Capt<sup>n</sup>. Rous in the Sutherland came from off the Harbour of Louisburg, said two Ships had got in on the 30<sup>th</sup>, that there were 13 Sail in the Harbour. we saw the entrance of Gabarus at night.

The 2<sup>d</sup>, it was foggy in the morning. about 12 saw Louisburg and the Ships in the Harbour, the Fleet with about a third of the Troops anchored in Gabarus bay, and this Evening, with Brigadier Generals Lawrence & Wolfe I reconnoitred the Shore as near as we could, and made a Disposition for landing in three places the next morning, in case the Troops arrived

The Enemy had a Chain of Posts from Cape Noir to the flat Point and I. regulars from thence to the bottom of the bay, some works thrown up at the Places which appeared practicable to land at, and some Batteries.

on the 3<sup>d</sup>, most of the Transports came in this morning, all was prepared for landing but the Surf on Shore was so great, it was impossible to land : this day B<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Whitmore arrived from Halifax, at which place I have left Colonel Monckton to command. as one bay was found to have less Surf than the others, a disposition was made to land the next morning in one place instead of three.

The 4<sup>th</sup>, The Wind and Surf were so very high that Admiral Boscawen told me it was impracticable to land.

The 5<sup>th</sup>, a great Swell and Fog in the morning and the Admiral declared it still impracticable to land.

The 6<sup>th</sup>, an Appearance of Change of Weather in the morning early, I was resolved to seize the first opportunity, the Signal was made to prepare to land between 5, & 6. o'Clock, and at 8 all the Men were in the boats; the Fog came on again, and the Swell encreased during the time the

Men were getting into the boats, and the Admiral again declared it impracticable to land, I ordered the Troops on board their respective Ships, first acquainting them with the reason for so doing.

The 7<sup>th</sup>, the Weather bad in the morning, in the Afternoon the Swell rather decreased and gave us great hopes of landing at day break the next morning, for which orders were given; and Bragg's Reg<sup>t</sup> who were in a number of Sloops, to sail under Convoy by the mouth of the Harbour to Lorembec, sending at the same time a proportion of Artillery destined for the light House Point with orders to make all the Shew they could of landing but not to land 'till further orders, intending to draw the Enemy's Attention on that side.

From the 2<sup>d</sup> to this time the Enemy has been reinforcing their Posts, adding to their works, cannonading and throwing Shells at the Ships, and making all the preparations they can to oppose our landing: seven Transports were now missing with Troops on board, three of which came in at night. The Admiral gave all necessary Orders for the Frigates to cover our landing.

On the 8<sup>th</sup>, The Troops were assembled in the Boats before break of day, in three Divisions according to the Plan annexed, and Comodore Dureil having viewed the Coast by order of the Admiral and given me his opinion that the Troops might land, without danger from the Surf, in the bay on our left, the Kennington, and Halifax Snow, began the fire upon the left, followed by the Grammont, Diana, and Shannon Frigates in the Center, and the Sutherland and Squirrell upon the right; when the fire had continued about a Quarter of an Hour, the Boats upon the left rowed into the Shore under the Command of B<sup>r</sup> General Wolfe, whose Detachment was composed of the four Eldest Companys of Grenadiers, followed by the light Infantry, (a Corps of 550 Men chosen as Marksmen from the different Regiments, serve

#### 4 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

as Irregulars, and are commanded by Major Scott, who was Major of brigade) and Companys of Rangers, supported by the Highland Regiment, and those by the Eight remaining Companys of Grenadiers.

The Division on the right under the Command of B<sup>r</sup> General Whitmore consisted of the Royal, Lascelles, Monckton, Forbes, Anstruther, & Webb, & rowed to our right by the white Point as if intending to force a landing there.

The Center Division under the Command of B<sup>r</sup> General Lawrence was formed of Amherst's, Hopson's, Otway's, Whitmores, Lawrence's & Warburtons, & made at the same time a Shew of landing at the fresh water Cove: this drew the Enemy's attention to every part and prevented their Troops posted along the Coast from Joining those on their right.

The Enemy acted very wisely, did not throw away a Shot 'till the boats were near in shore, and then directed the whole fire of their Cannon and Muskettry upon them: the Surf was so great, that a place could hardly be found, to get a boat on shore; notwithstanding the fire of the Enemy and the Violence of the Surf, Brigadier Wolfe pursued his point, and landed just at their left of the Cove, took post, attacked the Enemy, & forced them to retreat. many Boats overset, several broke to Pieces, and all the Men Jumped into the Water to get on Shore.

So soon as the left Division was landed the first Detachments of the Center rowed at a proper time to the left and followed, then the remainder of the Center division as fast as the boats could fetch them from the Ships. and the right Division followed the center in like manner.

it took up a great deal of time to land the Troops, the Enemy's Retreat, or rather Flight, was through the roughest and worse [*sic*] Ground I ever saw, and the Pursuit ended with a canonading from the Town which was so far of

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Dear Sir,

The Title of Brigadier is which entitles the American  
only, has no less advantage, than the throwing in  
into service in an easy manner for myself, &  
such as my constitution really requires. one receipt  
alone will determine, the more solid favours, for  
it is probable to deserve very well, & to be acting  
its receipt. The State of publick affairs is such  
that some measures must be pursued which  
Purdum, in military knowledge, might not do  
too late here (if accident did prevent it) a year  
hence this year in America, & the Country has  
a right to expect some remarkable efforts, made  
to the Americans - Success, is in the hands of  
Providence - but it is in every man's power  
to do his part handsomely. I did not know that  
Barr's was near London, nor even your acquaintance  
now that I do know it, I shall value him the more.

that account, by accident  
good usage - I shall have  
thank the man that was  
already surpassed the little  
of his obscurity, to work  
and his share till long  
ten words to him, before  
him, as a sample of my  
that my information comes

I wish your success  
a lasting satisfaction to me  
forward it, you must find  
which indeed I should not  
it warmly to L. G. but  
the power in his hands,  
but, I have little more to

LETTER BY J

by accident I heard of his death, &  
in these times, I trust, good reason to  
be that mentioned him; nay, I can  
add the little I did, by describing out-  
ly, so worthy a gentleman I never  
knew long, nor ever - after  
him, before I ventured to propose  
captain of Brigade - you may <sup>have</sup> seen,  
an action came from the last hands;  
our success most heartily, it would be  
a relief to me, if I had known the  
interest you were to take in,  
I had not do, thank I have paid  
L. G. Ashville, who has not seen  
his hands, I trust, the Field Marshal,  
little weight there - & for your sake.

I wish I had been at Long George, to see you  
to them a letter, with all the Scotch News, & your an-  
swers to upon things as they fall out; Calcutta will  
forward your letters, & they will be around, as to  
many marks of your affection & remembrance,  
we embark in three or four days - Bessie & I have  
the great advantage of a three deck'd ship to escape  
all this steam & this fresh air, I am said to  
death, but, I suppose, will deliver me from these  
sufferings, tho' in former trials, I never could  
overcome it. I thank you for your kind wishes,  
& esteem in most sincere. I am, ever very truly  
Your faithful & affectionate

Portsmouth  
7<sup>th</sup> Feb

James Wolfe





use, that it pointed out how near I could encamp to invest it, on which the Regiments marched to their ground and lay on their Arms. the Wind encreased, and we could not get any thing on shore.

The loss of His Majestys Troops at our landing, is, Capt: Baillie and Lt: Cuthbert of the Highland Regiment, Lieut Nicholson of mine, 4 Serj<sup>ts</sup>. 1 Corporal & 38 Men Killed. twenty-one were of my Regiment (the Grenadiers) of which 8 were shot, and the rest drowned in trying to get on shore.

5 Lieut<sup>s</sup> 2 Serj<sup>ts</sup> 1 Corporal and 51 Men wounded, and of the five Companys of Rangers 1 Insign and 3 private Killed, 1 wounded, & 1 missing.

On the Enemy's side 2 Capt<sup>s</sup> of Grenadiers and 2 Lieut<sup>s</sup> are prisoners, one Officer Killed and an Indian Chief, several Men likewise Killed, and I imagine about 70 Men taken Prisoners, they were sent on board as fast as possible. by some of the Prisoners I had intelligence that Mons<sup>r</sup> St Julien, Colonel, commanded in the Cove; that there were five Batt<sup>s</sup> in the Town, namely, *Bourgogne*, *Artois* *Royal Marine* *Cambise* & *Volontaires Etrangers* with about 700, Canadians, the three first Regiments wintered in Louisburg, *Volontaires Etrangers* came there not long since with part of the Fleet, and *Cambise* the night before we landed.

We took from the Enemy 3, 24 Pounders 7, 9 Pounders and 7, 6 Pounders, 2 Mortars and 14 Swivels, all which were placed along the shore to prevent our landing, with Ammunition Tools & Stores of all kinds.

the 9<sup>th</sup> Lt Gen<sup>l</sup> Braggs Regiment returned in their Sloops from Lorembec, the Weather continued extreamly bad, the Surf so great that we could get only some of our Tents on shore in the Afternoon.

The 10<sup>th</sup> the Surf still continued and it was with great difficulty that we got any thing on shore.

The 11<sup>th</sup> the Weather grew clear and better, and the light six Pounders which I had ordered on shore immediately

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after the Troops, were now only landed, and some artillery Stores with them.

I delivered the Dispatches for Major General Abercromby and Governour Lyttleton, to Colonel Monckton, that he might forward them by the first and safest Occasion.

I shall add to this, Sir, a list of His Majestys Forces as I found them, by which you will see where it differs from that I received from you, and a List of the Forces left for the Defence of Nova Scotia.

I will press on every thing to the utmost of my Power towards the Execution of His Majestys Orders, I write this in case Admiral Boscawen should dispatch a Ship to England, in my next I hope to give you a good Account of our Progress. I am with the greatest Respect

Sir

Your most Humble  
and most Obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST

R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> Mr. PITT.

[A.L.S.]

[pp. 178-179 blank.]

Endorsed: Camp before Louisburg. June 11<sup>th</sup>. 1758.

M. G. AMHERST

R. Aug<sup>t</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup>. by Cap<sup>t</sup>. AMHERST.

[C.O. 5, Vol. 53, p. 195.]

Camp before Louisburg 23<sup>d</sup> June 1758.

Sir

The last Letter I wrote to you I gave you an Account of every thing material that had happened to the 12<sup>th</sup> of June, on which day from Intelligence I had received that the Enemy had destroyed the Grand Battery, and called in their out Posts, I detached Brigadier Wolfe with 1200 Men, 4 Companys of Grenadiers, 3 Companys of Rangers and some light Infantry

round the North-East Harbour, to the light-House Point, with an Intention to silence the Island battery and at the same time to attempt to destroy the Ships in the Harbour, sending at the same time by Sea the proportion of Artillery, Tools, &c<sup>a</sup> that had been ordered for this Service.

I received this day a Report from Brig<sup>r</sup> Wolfe that he had taken possession of the light House Point, and all the Posts on that side the Harbour, which the Enemy had abandoned, leaving several Cannon which were rendered useless, Tools &c<sup>a</sup>, and a great quantity of fish at Lorembec. The weather continued extreemly bad, but we got some Tools on shore this night, so that on the 13<sup>th</sup> we began to make a Communication from the Right to the Left in front of the Camp, and I ordered three Redoutes on the most advantageous Ground in the Front: a Party of the Enemy came out this day towards our Camp, but were soon beat back by the light Infantry, before two Picquets could well get up to their assistance. we worked at the three Redoutes in front all night.

the 14<sup>th</sup> the Enemy canonaded us a great part of the day, I received a Letter from the Governour, a Copy of which I send you enclosed with my answer. the Surf still continued so great that it was with the greatest difficulty we could land anything. The Fleet under the Command of Sir Charles Hardy which appeared yesterday for the first time, was in the night blown off to Sea.

the 15<sup>th</sup> I sent four more Mortars in a Sloop to the light house, but we could not get any Artillery landed on this shore, at night two Deserters from the Volontaires Etrangers came in, said they had 5 Killed and 40 wounded in the Shirmish [*sic*] on the 13<sup>th</sup>.

the 16<sup>th</sup> the first fine Weather, we landed twelve days provision, and got many things on shore, but could not yet land any Artillery.

the 17<sup>th</sup> I got Colonel Bastide on Horse back and with Col Williamson & Major M<sup>c</sup>Kellar, we reconnoitred the

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whole ground as far as we could, and Colonel Bastide was determined in his opinion of making approaches by the Green-Hill,<sup>1</sup> and confining the Destruction of the Ships in the Harbour, to the light-House point, and the Batteries on that side. I added two 8 Inch Mortars and 3 Royals to the light House batterys.

The 18<sup>th</sup> we had fine weather, some Indians took three of the Transports Men at the bottom of Gabarus bay, who landed there contrary to orders. the Road for the Artillery was pushed on as fast as possible, we got 3 24 Pounders on shore 'tho the Surf was great the beginning of the day.

19<sup>th</sup> the Batterys at the light House were intended to have been opened this night, but could not be got ready so soon, L'Echo, a french Frigate of 32 Guns, was brought in to day, had got out of the Harbour the 13<sup>th</sup> at night was bound to Quebec, by her we have intelligence, that the Bizarre got out the day we landed, and the Comette since our Arrival off the Harbour. this shews how very difficult it is to block up the Entrance of the Harbour, it appears to me to be impossible.

the 20<sup>th</sup> The Island Battery and Ships fired at the Batteries on the Shore, who began their fire this last night, the Enemy burnt an old Ship at the Bottom of the Harbour.

the 21<sup>st</sup> very bad Weather, and the Surf high, the Enemy discovered us making the Road for the Artillery & canonaded us; threw some Shot into the left of the Camp, but did not oblige me to decamp any part; an advanced Redoute towards Greenhill was thrown up this night.

the 22<sup>d</sup> the bad Weather continued, we were employed on the Roads, and getting up a block house on the left, by the Miray Road, to secure the Communication to the north East Harbour and light House, and to hinder any Partys from going into the Town.

<sup>1</sup> A knoll above Flat Point.

The 23<sup>d</sup> the Admiral assured me there were above a hundred boats lost in landing the Troops and provisions. this day fine Weather, and we now have on shore 12 24 Pounders, and 6 12 Pounders, the Enemy fired a great deal from their Shipping and Island battery, and they threw some shot into the left of the Camp. Colonel Messervy and most of his Carpenters taken ill of the small Pox, which is a very great loss to this Army. Gabions and Fascines are landed, and caryed forward as fast as possible, to make an Epaulement to Greenhill. the Batteries at the light house, fire with success against the Island battery, and I hope will soon silence it.

I am with the utmost Respect

Sir

Your most Humble  
and most Obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST

[A.I S.]

P.S: one Man of Warburton's deserted. the Army in General very healthy. Lieut: Fenton of the Royal and Lieut: Frazier of the Highland Regiment are dead of their wounds received on the 8<sup>th</sup>.

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> M<sup>r</sup> PITT.

Endorsed: Camp before Louisburg. June 23<sup>d</sup>. 1758.

Maj<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. AMHERST.

R. Aug<sup>t</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup>. by Cap<sup>t</sup>. AMHERST.

[C.O. 5, Vol. 53, p. 209.]

Camp before Louisburg 6<sup>th</sup> July 1758.

Sir

The last Letter I did myself the Honour of writing to you was to give you an account of every thing that had passed to the 23<sup>d</sup> of June inclusively, but as yet I have not

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had any opportunity of sending it: I shall now continue my account from that day to this, in hopes of an occasion offering.

on the 24<sup>th</sup>, the Enemy fired on the light House Batteries from the Town & Shipping, and on our advanced Redoute which was finished, they fired from the Town. I sent a Drummer into Louisburg with a Letter to the Governour, a Copy of which I enclose with the Answer thereto. Colonel Bastide remained fixed in his opinion of advancing by Greenhill; we had this day in the Park of Artillery 13 24 P<sup>s</sup> and 7 12 P<sup>s</sup>.

the 25<sup>th</sup>, the canonading continued night and day, in the Evening the Island Battery was silenced, their own fire had helped to break down part of their works, fascines & Gabions were forwarded to greenhill as fast as possible, all the men employed at work and making the necessary Communications; the Enemy fired a good deal at our advanced Redoute.

26<sup>th</sup> a small Alarm on the left of a Party that had advanced from the Town, had got up to the block house, which was not quite finished, they had with them a Barrell of Pitch to set it on fire, the Guard on it was not sufficient to oppose a large Party. but a Detachment was sent out so quick, that they were forced to retreat without effecting their design, 'tho two of the men had been in the blockhouse, and they were drove back into the Town very fast. 300 Pioneers ordered to greenhill, Admiral Boscawen landed 200 Marines, and took the Post at Kennington Cove, which is a great ease to the Army. I desired of the Admiral 4 32 P<sup>s</sup>. and 2 24 P<sup>s</sup>. to leave at the light House to keep the Island battery in ruin, that with a proper number of men entrenched there, Brigadier Wolfe with his Detachment might be able to come round the Harbour, bringing his Artillery with him, and to try to destroy the Shipping, and to advance towards the West gate.

27<sup>th</sup> one Brass 24 P<sup>r</sup> was lost in 12 Fathom water by slipping off the Catamaran, as they were coming from the Ship to land it, the Cannon, I asked of the Admiral, were landed this night at the light House.

28<sup>th</sup> a great many popping Shots and canonading, as the Post at green hill was covered, we began the Road over the Bogs and throwing up an Epaulement. Col Messervy and his Son both died this day, and of his Company of Carpenters of 108 men, all but 16 in the small Pox, who are Nurses to the sick, this is particularly unlucky at this time.

29<sup>th</sup>, canonading continued, the Frigate fired constantly at the Epaulement, we pursued working at the road, which cost a great deal of labour; at night the Enemy sunk four Ships in the Harbour's mouth, the *Apollo* a two decked one, *La Fidelle* of 36 Guns, *La Chevre* and *La Riche*<sup>1</sup> of 16 Guns each, and they cut off most of the'r masts, remain in the harbour five of the Line of Battle and a Frigate of 36 Guns.

30<sup>th</sup> at night some firing at Kennington Cove, the Marines thought they saw Indians, the Frigate fired all night at the Epaulement, as the Men worked in the night time.

1<sup>st</sup> of July, the Enemy creeped out in the morning to get some old Palisades & Wood, B<sup>r</sup> Wolfe & Major Scotts light Infantry pushed them in with a very brisk fire, and the Brigadier took posts on the Hills, from whence it was intended to try to demolish the Shipping, we marched forward on the right, forced the Enemy back to Cape No<sup>r</sup> with a smart fire.

the 2<sup>d</sup> the Epaulement and Road went on heavily from the extream badness of the ground, the Enemy continued their canonading and threw some Shells, we skirmished all day with Parties out of the Town.

3<sup>d</sup>. a great Canonading from the Town and Shipping on the Baterns B<sup>r</sup> Wolfe was making, an advanced work on the right thrown up at 650 yards from the covered way with

<sup>1</sup> *La Bihe.*



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an Intention of erecting a Battery to destroy the Defences of the Place, it being pretty well on the Capital of the Citadel Bastion, and the falling of the Ground from this Place towards the works, would hinder discovering as much of the works as would be necessary to do them any considerable damage, in the Evening the Sea Officers thought some of the Ships would try to get out of the Harbour, the Batteries on the Left immediately played on them, but it grew so dark, they could not continue.

4<sup>th</sup> a great Fog when there were Glares of light the canonading began, 500 Men kept continually making Fascines.

5<sup>th</sup> very bad Weather, the Epaulement was hastened on as much as possible, it swallowed up an immense Number of Fascines, cost some Men, as the Frigate canonaded on it without ceasing.

6<sup>th</sup> a Sloop sailed out of the Harbour with a Flag of Truce to Sir C. Hardy, to carry some things to their wounded Officers and Prisoners.

The many difficulties of landing every thing in almost a continual Surf, making of Roads, draining and passing of Bogs, and putting ourselves under Cover, renders our approach to the Place much longer than I could wish, but I beg leave to assure you, Sir, that no time shall be lost in advancing and I doubt not, but, the necessary Precautions being taken, our Success will be very certain.

I am with the utmost Respect

Sir

Your most Humble

and most Obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> PITT.

[A.L.S.]

Endorsed : Camp before Louisburg. July 6<sup>th</sup>. 1758.

Maj<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. AMHERST.

R. Aug<sup>t</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup>. by Cap<sup>t</sup>. AMHERST.

[C.O. 5, Vol. 53, p. 225.]

Camp before Louisburg. July 23<sup>d</sup>. 1758.

Sir

I was in hopes to have sent my Letters to you long before this, my last of the 6<sup>th</sup> was to inform you of our Situation here, with every thing that had passed at this place 'till that time.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> we had very foggy weather I received a Letter from the Governour of Louisburg by a Drummer, and one from Admiral Boscawen, which I sent to him with the one I had received, the Admiral came on shore, we both wrote, and I sent the Drummer back in the Afternoon; a Copy of Mons<sup>r</sup>. Drucour's Letter to me and my answer are herewith enclosed. canonading continued all day, and a good deal of popping Shots from the advanced Posts.

the 8<sup>th</sup> I intended an Attack on some advanced Posts at Cape Noir, but it did not take place, Col: Bastide got a Contusion by a Musket Ball on his Boot which lay[d] him up in the Gout.

9<sup>th</sup> in the night the Enemy made a Sortie where B<sup>r</sup> Lawrence comanded, every thing had been so quiet it was expected by some, others I fear, were not so vigilant, and suffered for it, the Enemy came from Cape Noir, and 'tho' drunk, I am afraid rather surprised a Company of Grenadiers of Forbes's, comanded by L<sup>d</sup> Dundonald,<sup>1</sup> who were posted in a Fleche on the right. Major Murray who comanded three Companys of Grenadiers immediately detached one and drove the Enemy back very easily, Whitmores & Braggs Grenadiers behaved very well on this occasion, Lord Dundonald was killed, L<sup>t</sup> Tew<sup>2</sup> wounded and taken Prisoner, Capt. Bontein<sup>3</sup> of the Engineers taken Prisoner, 1 Corporal 3 men killed,

<sup>1</sup> William, Earl of Dundonald, appointed a Captain of the 17th Foot, February 2, 1757.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Tew, Lieutenant 17th Regiment of Foot, February 2, 1757.

<sup>3</sup> William Bontein, appointed Engineer Extraordinary and Captain Lieutenant of Foot, February 2, 1758.

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1 Serj<sup>t</sup> 11 Men missing, 17 men wounded. the Sortie was of five Picquets supported by 600 men, a Cap<sup>t</sup> Chevalier de Chauvelin<sup>1</sup> was killed, a Lieut: wounded & taken prisoner, 17 men killed, 4 wounded & brought off Prisoners, besides what wounded they caryed into the Town, one of which, a Captain, died immediately. The Enemy sent out a Flag of Truce to bury their dead, which when over, the canonading began again: the Frigate was so hurt she hawled close to the Town, the Ships fired very much against B<sup>r</sup> Wolfes Batteries.

10<sup>th</sup>. the Road at the Epaulement went on a little better, the Enemy fired a great deal and threw many Shells.

11<sup>th</sup> a Waggoner was taken off by some Indians between the block House and the left of the N<sup>W</sup> Harbour, I should have mentioned in my last that the 30<sup>th</sup>. L<sup>t</sup>. Crofton of a Ranger Company brought in two scalp of Indians.

12<sup>th</sup> it rained very hard all night Not a Man in Detachment could have a dry thread on, we made an advanced work to Green-hill, at night the Waggoner who had been taken luckily made his Escape, said they were 250 Canadians. The Citadel Bastion fired very smartly.

13<sup>th</sup>. the Enemy threw a great many Shells, we perfected our works as fast as we could, bad rainy Weather, the Enemy was at work at Cape Noir to hinder us taking possession near that Point, which is of no consequence. Some Deserters came in said a Sloop from Miray<sup>2</sup> got in three days ago.

14<sup>th</sup> the Batteries were traced out last night with an Intention to place twenty 24 P<sup>s</sup>. divided in Four different Batterys, to destroy the defences, and a Battery of seven Mortars, with some twelve Pounders to ricochet the Works and the Town.

<sup>1</sup> Chevalier de Chauvelin, Capitaine du regiment de Bourgogne. The King granted his widow a pension of 200 livres.

<sup>2</sup> Miray Lake, now Miray Bay, north of Louisbourg, on the western coast of Cape Breton.

15<sup>th</sup>, the canonading & firing continued, the Enemy tryed to throw some shells into Camp, supposed to be intended against our powder Magazine. at ten at night the Light-House Battery fired some Rockets as a Signal of Ships sailing out of the Harbour, Sir C: Hardy answered it, the Frigate got out, and Sir C Hardys Fleet got under Sail & went to Sea. before day break Capt Sutherland posted at the end of the N-E-Harbour was attacked and there was a great deall of firing, the Grenadiers of B<sup>r</sup> Wolfes Corps marched to sustain him, and all the light Infantry, it was over before they could get up, and by a Deserter from the Enemy, they were only 100 Men, came from *Miray* where they left Monsieur de Boisbere<sup>1</sup> who had on the other side the water 300 men with boats to pass. Major Scott with the light Infantry pursued but could not get up with them. I encamped a Corps forward.

16<sup>th</sup> towards night B<sup>r</sup> Wolfe pushed on a Corps and took possession of the Hills in the Front of the Barasoy,<sup>2</sup> where we made a Lodgement, the Enemy fired very briskly from the Town and Shipping.

17<sup>th</sup> a great fire continued from the Town and Shipping, we resolved to extend the Parallel from the right to the left, the Fleet returned.

18<sup>th</sup> all last night the Enemy fired Muskettry from the covered way, tryed to throw shells into the Camp.

19<sup>th</sup> I relieved the Trenches by Batt<sup>ies</sup>: the 14 Battalions forming three Brigades, a smart fire from the covered way, the Batterys on the left fired against the Bastion dauphin with great Success.

21<sup>st</sup>. one of the Ships in the Harbour had some Powder blown up in her, made a great Explosion and sat the Ship on fire, which soon caught the sails of two more. they burned very fast and we kept firing on them the whole time to try to hinder the boats and People from the Town

<sup>1</sup> Boishébert.

<sup>2</sup> Barachois; see *Plan of Louisbourg*, vol. i. p. 242.

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to get to their Assistance. the *Entreprenant Capriccius* & *Superbe* were the three burned Ships, the *Prudent* & *bein-faisant* remained.

22<sup>d</sup> two Batterys on the right opened with 13 24 P<sup>s</sup>. and another of seven Mortars and fired with great Success, the Enemy fired very well from the Town for some time and threw their Shells into our Works, one Shot went into the Muzzle of a 24 P<sup>r</sup>. and stuck there as if it had been tryed to be rammed in. Our Shells put the Citadel in Flames, I ordered Col: Williamson to confine his fire as much as he could to the defences of the Place that we might not destroy the Houses. A L<sup>t</sup> of the Royal Americans going his rounds on an advanced Post, lost his way & was taken Prisoner near Cape Noir. a Battery was begun on the left for 4 24 P<sup>s</sup>. 23<sup>d</sup>. the Cohorns were used at night & the french mortars sent to throw stones from the Trenches. The Enemy fired all sorts of old Iron and any Stuff they could pick up. Col: Bastide was out to day for the first time since he received the contusion our Batterys fired with great success. This night the Shells sat fire to the Barracks and they burnt with great Violence.

As I now imagine Admiral Boscawen will not send away any Ship till the Siege is over which, I hope, will not last many days, I will give you an Account of our Losses in my next, which hitherto have been much less than could be expected from so great a fire. the Enemy have fired very wildly and have thrown away a great quantity of ammunition.

I am with the utmost Respect Sir

Your most Humble and most Obedient Servant

JEFF AMHERST.

[A.L.S.]

R<sup>t</sup> Honble M<sup>r</sup> PITT

Endorsed : Camp before Louisburg. July 23<sup>d</sup>. 1758.

Major Gen<sup>l</sup> AMHERST.

R. Aug<sup>t</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup>. by Cap<sup>t</sup> AMHERST.

Camp of Louisbourg July 27<sup>th</sup> 1758.

Sir

That I may continue my account since the 23<sup>d</sup> Instant (the last letter I had the honour of writing to you) and lead you to the Surrender of Louisbourg, I am to acquaint you.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> the fire was very brisk on our side and the Enemies decreased, The Admiral gave me 400 Seamen to help work at the Batteries &c and 200 Miners added to a Corps of 100 already established that we might make quick work of it, and they were employ'd immediately. The 4 Gun Battery open'd and another of 5 erecting, One of the men of war in the harbour the *bienfaisant* fired at our trenches at high water, and the Citadel & the Bastion Dauphine fired against the 4 gun Battery, but our men firing Small Arms into the Embrasures beat the Enemy off their Guns.

25<sup>th</sup> The Batteries fired with great Success, the Admiral sent me word he intended to send in boats with 600 men to take or destroy the *Prudent* and the *bienfaisant* in the harbour. I order'd all the batteries at night to fire into the works as much as possible, to keep the Enemy's Attention to the land, the Miners and workmen went on very well with their Approaches to the Coverd way, tho they had a continued and very smart fire from it, and Grape Shot and all sorts of old Iron from the Guns of the Ramparts. We continued our fire with! Ceasing and a Ricouchet. The Boats got to the Ships at one in the morning, and took them both with great ease, th were Obliged to burn the *prudent* as she was a ground, and they towed off the *bienfaisant* to the N. East Harbour.

26<sup>th</sup> The Admiral came on shore, and told me he proposed sending six Ships into the Harbour the next day, just at this time, I received a Letter from the Governour, which I answerd, and the Admiral and I signed it joyntly, this brought

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on another from the Governour, and I answerd it again, and That you may Sir be fully informed of every thing that passed, I send you Copies of the whole, The Troops remained in the Trenches this night as usual.

27<sup>th</sup> Three Companies of Grenad<sup>r</sup> under the Command of Major Farquhar took possession of the best Gate, and I sent in Brig<sup>d</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Whitmore to see the Garrison lay down their Arms, and post the necessary Guards in the Town, on the Stores, Magazines &c<sup>a</sup>. And I had the Arms brought out of Town and Eleven Colours, which I send you under the care of Cap<sup>t</sup> William Amherst, who will likewise deliver to you all my Letters from the day of the Troops landing here, which I have had no opportunity of sending. As I have given out in Orders, that I desired every commanding Officer of a Corps, would acquaint the Officers and men, that I was greatly pleased with the brave and good behaviour of the Troops, which has, and always must insure Success; I am to acquaint you Sir that I took the liberty to add to it, that I would report it to the King.

I inclose with this a Return of the Killed and Wounded, of His Majesty's Troops in the Island since the first landing, As Admiral Boscawen intends to send away a Ship very soon, it may happen, I shall not have it in my power to give you an account of the State and Condition of the Garrison, and the Town, or am I yet able to judge what the future Operations of this Campaign may be I am

If I can go to Quebeck I will

a true Copy.

JEFF AMHERST.

ARTICLES DE CAPITULATION entre son Excellence L'Amiral  
Boscawen, et son Excellence le Major Genl Amherst  
d'une Part, et de son Excellence M. le Chev<sup>r</sup> de drucour  
Gouverneur de L'Isle Royale de Louisbourg, Isle de  
S<sup>t</sup> Jean et de leurs dependances.

Art<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>re</sup>

La Garnison de Louisbourg sera Prisonniere de Guerre et  
sera transportée en Angleterre dans des Vaisseaux de sa  
Majesté Brittanique.

2<sup>de</sup>

Toute L'Artillerie, les munitions de Guerre et de bouche  
aussy bien que les Armes de toutes especes qui sont a present  
dans la Ville de Louisbourg, Isle Royale et de S<sup>t</sup> Jean et  
leurs dependances, seront livreés sans le moindre degât aux  
Commissaires qui Seront Appointés pour les recevoir a l'usage  
de sa Majesté Britanique.

3<sup>de</sup>

Le Gouverneur donnera ses Ordres que les troupes qui  
sont dans L'Isle de S<sup>t</sup> Jean et ses dependances, Se rendront a  
bord de tel Vaisseaux de Guerre que L'Amiral enverra pour  
les recevoir.

4<sup>de</sup>

La Porte dauphine sera livrée aux Troupes de sa Majesté  
Britannique demain a huit heures du Matin, et la Garnison  
y'compris tous ceux qui ont porté les Armes, Se Rangera a  
Midy Sur L'Esplanade et posera les Armes, Draj aux. In-  
struments, et Ornaments de Guerre, Et la Garnison sera  
Embarquée pour être transportée en Angleterre dans un  
tems Convenable.



5<sup>m</sup>

On Aura le même Soin des Malades et blesses qui sont les hopiteaux, que de ceux de sa Majesté Britanique.

6<sup>m</sup>

Les Negotiants et leurs Commis qui n'ont point portés les Armes Seront Transportés en France, telle façon que L'Amiral Jugera a propos.

Louisburg le 26<sup>m</sup> Juillet 1758. Le Chev: de DRUCOUR.  
a true Copy JEFF AMHERST.

PART II.—*Major-General Jeffery Amherst's Journal from April 28 to June 19, 1759. Amherst to Pitt, June 19, 1759: Transcript in Canadian Archives, M. 212, from the original in the Public Record Office, London: C.O. 5: 55, formerly A. & W. I. 90.*

Sir,

I have waited for the arrival of a Packet-boat, not thinking it right to dispatch the only one on this side, least anything more material might happen than what I have had to acquaint you of since my last letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> Aprill to this time.

I then did myself the honour of writing you word of the measures I had been obliged to take on leaving Philadelphia that the Supply bill might be passed, and I received a Letter from Governour Denny<sup>1</sup> on the 21<sup>st</sup> that in consequence of

<sup>1</sup> William Denny held a commission in the army with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in America only, on his appointment as Deputy-Governor of Pennsylvania, where he arrived August 20, 1756. He administered the province until November 19, 1759, when he returned to England. He died about 1766.

what I had wrote to him, he had passed the bill though contrary to his instructions.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of Aprill Fraser's Regiment being embark'd and ready to sail, Lascelles's likewise ready to embark at Amboy, and the Transports coming in from Philadelphia, I left order with Captain Schomberg for convoying the Regiments, and B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux at New York to see all set off clear, and then to joyn me at Albany, and the Brigadier was to bring up Montgomery's Regt. that was ordered to Elizabeth Town and of course would be the last of the Regulars to joyn the Army.

I arrived at Albany on the 3<sup>rd</sup>. of May and sent to S<sup>r</sup>. William Johnson to meet me the next day at Schenectady; intelligence from Fort Edward a scout of four Rangers had been out, were discovered by a party of Indians near Sacandaga<sup>1</sup> who killed one Ranger, took two, and the fourth made his escape.

The 4<sup>th</sup>. I had all the assurances from S<sup>r</sup>. William that I could desire of the Indians being firm to the English, that he thought he should have 800 Indians to go with him, the Sachems of which were very desirous of carrying on an enterprise against Niagara, of which S<sup>r</sup>. William had wrote me word, this answered exactly to what I wished, I only said I could not determine on the operations, desired he would have them ready to act on the first notice, as I intended to make an Irruption into Canada with the utmost vigour and dispatch. a sloop of Rhode Island Troops arrived, the first of the Provincials that are come.

the 5<sup>th</sup>. I ordered three months Provisions for 5000 Men by land to Schenectady, and as much as could be forwarded by water to Fort Edward, that every thing might be prepared as much as I could against the arrival of the Troops. Gage's

<sup>1</sup> Sacandaga, an Indian village on the Sacandaga River, flowing into the north-eastern branch of the Hudson River.

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light Infantry encamped above Albany. a bridge at Fort Edward finished. the woods burnt to the Lake.

the 6<sup>th</sup>. the greatest Part of late Forbes's arrived, some more Rhode Islanders, I ordered Gage's light Infantry to Saratoga.

7<sup>th</sup>. as I had now determined with myself the Expedition to Oswego and Niagara, and that the Corps for that service should consist of Abercromby's, L<sup>t</sup>. General Murrays, 4<sup>th</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> of R: Americans and the 2680 New York Provincials, & that B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux should have the command and be joyned by all the Indians under S<sup>r</sup>. W<sup>m</sup>. Johnson, I wrote to B<sup>r</sup>. General Stanwix and sent an Aid de Camp that he might have the earliest notice and be prepared to act as the Expedition to Niagara must undoubtedly greatly facilitate any attack he may make on the french Posts between Pittsburg and Lake Erie.

8<sup>th</sup>. I was obliged to confirm the sentence of a General Court Martial and order the Execution of a Man of Abercromby's and one of Gage's to stop desertion. most of the New York Troops arrived.

9<sup>th</sup>. an account from Fort Stanwix of a Scouting Party of L<sup>t</sup>. Stevens and sixteen Rangers, who were discovered by the Enemy Indians, as the Rangers were shooting Pidgeons, and when surprised Tirbout a Volunteer and four men killed, one man taken Prisoner and a Serjeant wounded. an Aid de Camp who returned from Fort Edward heard the alarm Guns supposed some Indians had appeared.

10<sup>th</sup>. The Indians had been opposite Fort Miller which gave the alarm and they took away a Ranger who had crossed contrary to orders

I sent Letters to some of the Governors to press the march of the Provincial Troops. I received a Letter from the Governor of New Hampshire that the Assembly had altered their minds and would send their Troops by land I sent directly to provide for their march, he said after their desiring

I would order them by water, which I had done, it must appear to me very strange, but from long experience was very familiar to him.

11<sup>th</sup>. Royal Highland Reg<sup>t</sup>. encamped above the Town of Albany, a Camp marked for the Provincials. Montgomery's on their arrival to cantoon at Scotook.<sup>1</sup>

12<sup>th</sup>. I sent two Company's of light Infantry and two of late Forbes's under the command of Major Hamilton to Scorticook to put the oxen, that were worked down, to grass. More of the New York Troops arrived and some Rhode Islanders.

13<sup>th</sup>. I continued forwarding Provisions and Stores up the Mohawk & Hudson's Rivers.

14<sup>th</sup>. a Prisoner from Crown Point brought in an Inhabitant of the Place, taken by a Scouting Party of Rangers as he was a shooting in the woods, says he believes there is no change in the Garrisons of Tionderoga or Crown Point, that there are two Vessels on Lake Champlayn of small Force and two more were to be finished the later end of last month. Mons<sup>r</sup>. Langér<sup>2</sup> [Langy] was arrived at Crown Point with 120 Indians.

15<sup>th</sup>. B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux arrived from New York, I ordered all the Artillery and Ammunition allotted for Oswego and Niagara to Schenectady where it will be put in batteaus.

16<sup>th</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>. William Johnson came to me with some demands and promised great things for the Indians, I thought it right to keep my intended operations secret to the last moment, for if the Indians know it the French will have it.

I sent an Aid de Camp to put all the Troops on the Mohawk river in motion, and to march the Garrisons into the Posts that I intend should remain there during the Campaign.

<sup>1</sup> Scotcook or Scotock on the Hudson River, below Albany.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Baptiste Levraux, sieur de Langy, ensign, an active officer, was with Bourlamaque at Carillon in 1759. He was rewarded by the King for bravery on various occasions.

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17<sup>th</sup>. great Rains which will facilitate much the transportation of every thing up the Rivers. the New York Troops arrived, consisted of 2560 I compleated them with every thing that they may march immediately.

18<sup>th</sup>. Col. Babcock of the Rhode Island Troops arrived, said his Reg<sup>t</sup> was 700 instead of 1000 and that it was the fault of their Government. I sent 100 whale boats to half moon<sup>1</sup> to cross over to the Mohawk River & proceed to Schenectady, Proved all the old Guns that had been intended for Vessels and were laid by, several burst, ordered all the good to Fort Stanwix, had likewise two 18 Pounders proved at Albany. very violent rain.

19<sup>th</sup>. (Abercromby's Reg<sup>t</sup> marched to Schenectady with a detachment of Artillery commanded by Cap<sup>t</sup> Strachey<sup>2</sup> & two 18 Pounders.) from Fort Edward that 15 boats & Canoos had been seen on the Lake by a Scouting Party, who found a man dead at the old Camp, and scalped, and as Cap<sup>t</sup> Burbank<sup>3</sup> with a Party of Rangers had gone out it was feared he and his party were taken by this large body of Indians which proved true by their not returning, I suppose all taken asleep.

20<sup>th</sup>. Br. General Prideaux sat out in the morning to take his command at Schenectady, I wrote to Sir William Johnson accordingly. I had an Express from Boston in the Afternoon, with a Letter from M. General Wolfe at Halifax on the first of May. the River rose so sudden at Schenectady that Br. Prideaux wrote me word most of the Batteau's were got adrift and gone down the Mohawk river, dispatched instantly to

<sup>1</sup> Half Moon on the Hudson River. See *Montcalm's Plan*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> See note, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> "I returned to Fort Edward the fifteenth of May, where I received the melancholy news, that Capt. Burbank, with a party of thirty men, had in my absence been sent out on a scout, and were all cut off. This gave me great uneasiness, as Mr. Burbank was a gentleman I very highly esteemed, and one of the best officers among the Rangers, and more especially as I judged the scout he was sent out upon by the commanding officer at the fort was needless, and unadvisedly undertaken."—*Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, p. 137.

Nestaguina & Louduns Ferry to stop them; a Company of light Infantry encamped at Nestaguina, picked up 60 of them, most of the rest saved, but some went down the great Falls with one of the Ferry boats.

21<sup>th</sup>. I wrote to M: G: Wolfe sent an Aid de Camp to Boston with a Letter to the Lieut Governor to try to get 300 men to send to M. G. Wolfe as Pioneers.<sup>1</sup> five Companys of the Massachusetts Troops arrived this night

22<sup>nd</sup>. I ordered late Forbes's the Inniskilling Reg<sup>t</sup> and part of the Royal Highlanders with batteaüs and provisions up the river.

23<sup>rd</sup>. I sent to survey the Ground from Fort Harkiman<sup>2</sup> to Fort Stanwix that a Communication by land may be made on the first proper occasion.

24<sup>th</sup>. Sent an Engineer and 50 men to erect a Post for the Security of the carrying Place at Canajohary.<sup>3</sup>

25<sup>th</sup>. an account from L<sup>t</sup> Col Darby that Lieut Watts marching with a party of twelve men of late B<sup>t</sup> General Forbes's were attacked by a party of thirty Indians in his return from Still water to the Camp of Scorticook,<sup>4</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Watts and two men killed, three wounded, and a Corporal missing. two Sloops with the first of the New Jersey Troops arrived to day.

26<sup>th</sup>. a report from Major Hamilton of L<sup>t</sup> Watts's<sup>5</sup> affair, I believe the party was marching rather carelessly.

27<sup>th</sup>. a Part of a Company of Indians was to have marched out of Town but rum stoped them, the Provincial Troops

<sup>1</sup> See note, vol. i. p. 465.

<sup>2</sup> Fort Herkimer, on the Mohawk River. See *Plan of Communication between Albany and Oswego*, vol. ii. p. 530.

<sup>3</sup> Canajoharie (Canajoharie) or Canajoharie Castle, a settlement of Mohawk Indians, lying south-east of Stone Arabia on the Mohawk River, and the home of Brant and Hendrich. There Johnson built a church.

<sup>4</sup> Scooticook, Scorticook, or Schachticook, on the Hudson River between Stillwater and Half Moon. See *Montcalm's Plan*, p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> William Watts, appointed Lieutenant 17th Regiment of Foot, February 2, 1757.

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arrive daily but desert most shamefully, and they have left a great many men behind in the meazles.

28<sup>th</sup>. two of the Rhode Island Reg<sup>t</sup> tryed for desertion were sentenced to suffer death, I ordered all the Troops to be out the next morning at 6 o'clock for the Execution.

29<sup>th</sup>. I pardoned one of the Deserters in hopes that one example may be sufficient. I sent a detachment from the Provincials (exclusive of those of New York) to serve as batteau men on the Mohawk river that a constant supply of provisions may be kept up. the number of batteau men & Teamsters is very trifling in comparison to what I hoped to raise, so that I am obliged to furnish them from the Troops of the Provinces.

30<sup>th</sup>. I had an Account from Boston the 300 Provincials which I had demanded as Pioneers were granted and would be embarked directly as some transports were come in there going to Louisburg under convoy of the Scarborough.

The Return of the Regiments of Provincials this day in Camp is 2550 men. of those not come up belonging to the Regiments in Camp 2025. besides Col: Worcester's & Col: Whiting's Reg<sup>ts</sup> of the Connecticut Troops, all the New Hampshire Troops, 1500 of the Massachusetts, and 1000 of the Connecticut are yet to Joyn, this is the state of the Provincial Troops this day exclusive of the New York Troops which as they were the first arrived I allotted to the Corps under the command of B<sup>r</sup> General Prideaux, I had likewise destined the Jersey Troops for that Service in my own mind, but they not arriving so soon as I expected, the Batteaus men and Teamsters failing, I thought it would retard that service to wait for them, and that it might lessen the numbers of the Army under my immediate command rather too much, as I have so many things to furnish, and I hope the Successes on both sides will prove this measure to be right. I have amply supplied every thing for the Service at Oswego and Niagara, and furnished S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson with every thing

he has asked for the Indians, though the demands were not small.

I had this day the 30<sup>th</sup>. the Honour of receiving, Sir, two Letters from You of the 10<sup>th</sup>. & 15<sup>th</sup>. of March by an Express from Boston, it gives me very great satisfaction that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve the method I had taken to induce the Governors of the several Provinces to march their respective quota of Troops that the Campaign might begin as early as possible, and though this has not had all the effect I wished, it does not much lessen the favourable appearances of things, the detached Corps under the command of B<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Prideaux is gone in pretty good time, and I am in hopes I shall be able to be in right time at Tionderoga, the loss at present is, by the Troops not being ready, that I could not employ the time for this month past in building a Fort near the Lake, and some other things might be attempted, as to Tionderoga there is a too soon, as well as a too late and I would try to avoid both as the best means of ensuring success to His Majesty's Arms.

I imagine I need not mention any thing in answer to what you have wrote about B<sup>r</sup>. General Monckton, as I hope the Letters I have done myself the Honor to write to you will have been satisfactory in regard to his place of service. it was impossible I should not order him under the command of M<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Wolfe the first moment I knew His Majesty's gracious intentions, and you will have been acquainted also by my Letters of my having appointed B<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Stanwix to the command to the Southward as I thought him the best qualified for such a trust.

I am very happy in having at this time the King's pleasure signified to me for re-establishing the important Post of Oswego in the course of the year, I beg leave to assure you, Sir, I have most maturely weighed every thing that can tend to the success of the Execution of that plan, as well as the other intended operations for the Corps under the command



## 28 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL. APPENDIX

of B<sup>r</sup> General Prideaux. I enclose to you Copys of my Instructions to the Brigadier, of Plans, and every other information relating to that Expedition. a retrenched battery is intended where the old Fort was, it was thought necessary to have this for the greater security of the harbour, but the designed Fort is by all accounts on the best ground and entirely commands the retrenched battery, if the Enemy should get possession of it, and their approaches to it are to be rendered more difficult by having a block house on the hill.

I have likewise the same day received your separate Letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> of March enclosing one from Governor Ellis of the 31<sup>st</sup> of October, I have immediately wrote to Governor Ellis and I shall settle the Rangers in the best manner I can according to His Majesty's gracious intentions.

the 31<sup>st</sup>. I ordered the remaining part of the Royal highland Reg<sup>t</sup> with the Artillery and Massachusetts Troops that are here to take batteaüs & Provisions and proceed up the river. Captain Loring arrived from Boston and set out for New York to prepare materials for four Vessells, two on Lake Champlayn and two on Lake Ontario.

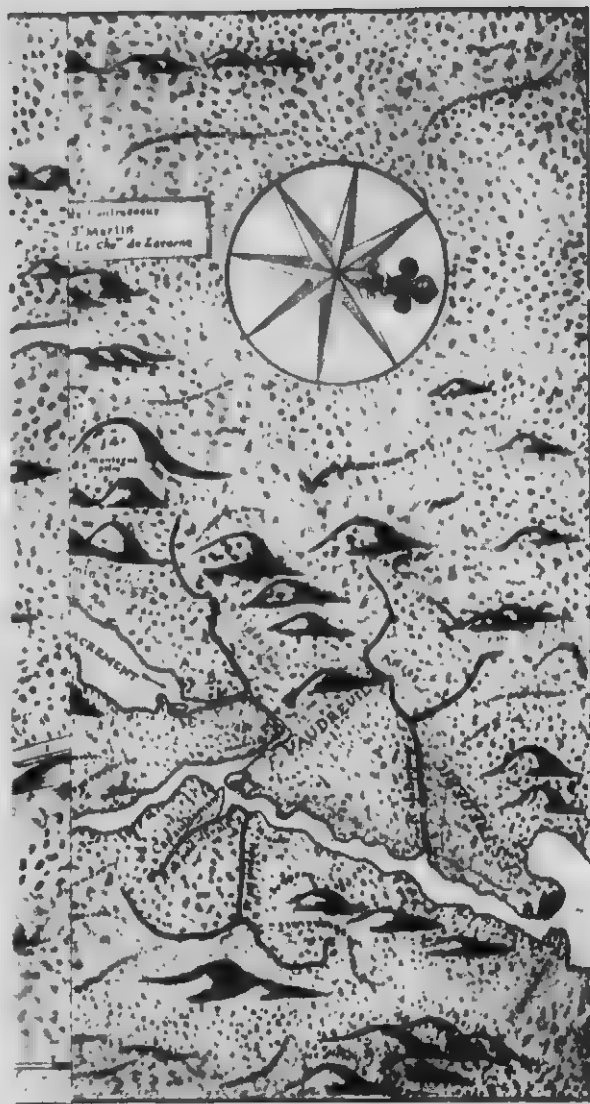
June 1<sup>st</sup>. Montgomerys Reg<sup>t</sup> and the Connecticut Troops to take batteaüs & provisions & proceed up the River. Captain Cruickshanks<sup>1</sup> independant Company arrived from number 4.

June 2<sup>d</sup>. I purposed setting out this morning, but found so many things to be done to get the Provincials forward, thought I should lose time instead of gaining it, some men of Col: Whiting's & Col: Worcester's of the Connecticut Troops arrived.

3<sup>d</sup>. I went to half moon where Montgomery's encamped, the Aid de Camp I had sent to Boston returned, the 300 Pioneers sailed from thence the 31<sup>st</sup> of May.

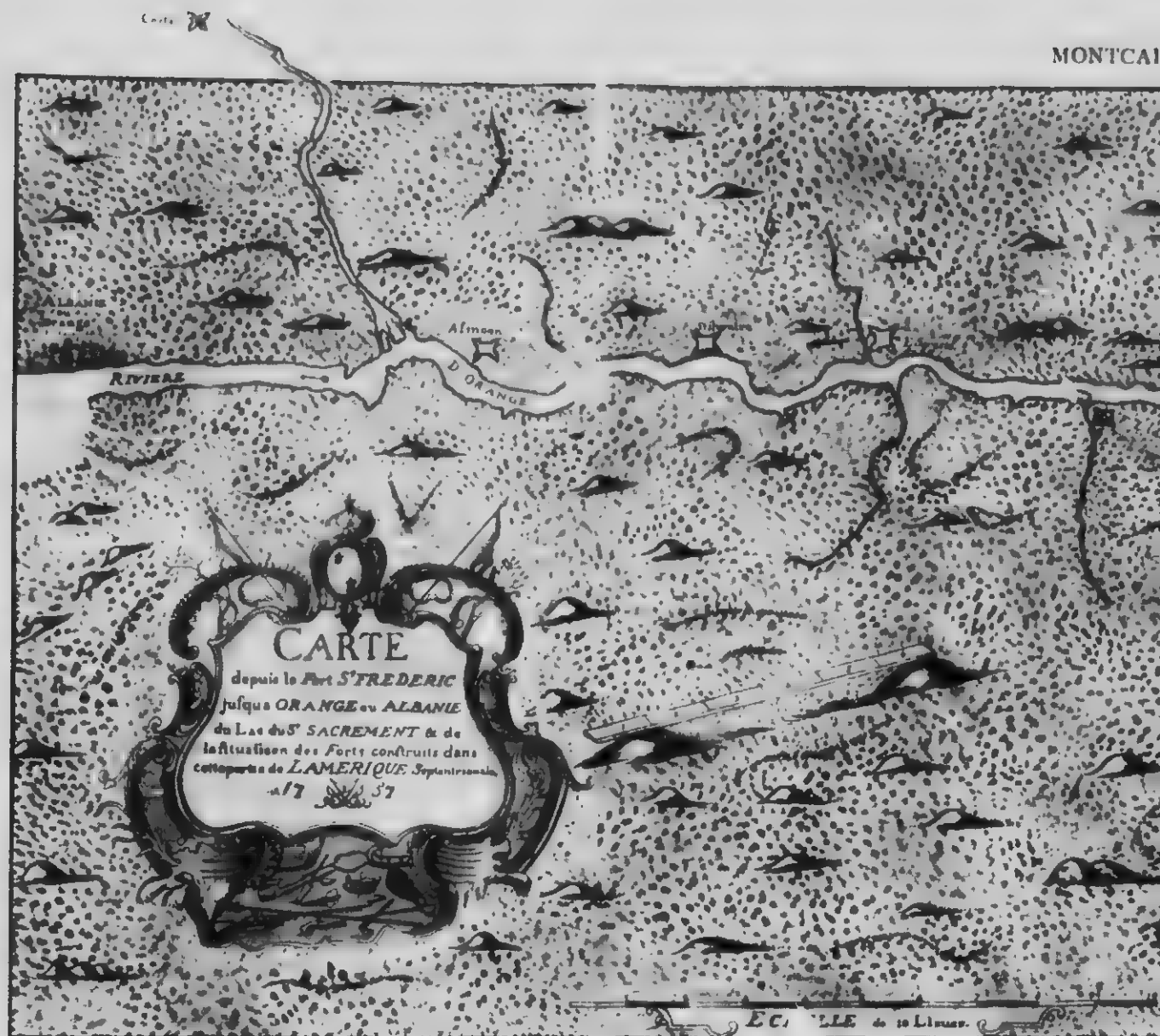
The 4<sup>th</sup>. to Stillwater, the Connecticut Troops found very heavy wet work getting up their batteaüs, the Royal High-

<sup>1</sup> Charles Cruickshanks, Captain of an Independent Company of Foot, New York, April 17, 1757.



1 FROF NORTH AMERICA, 1757

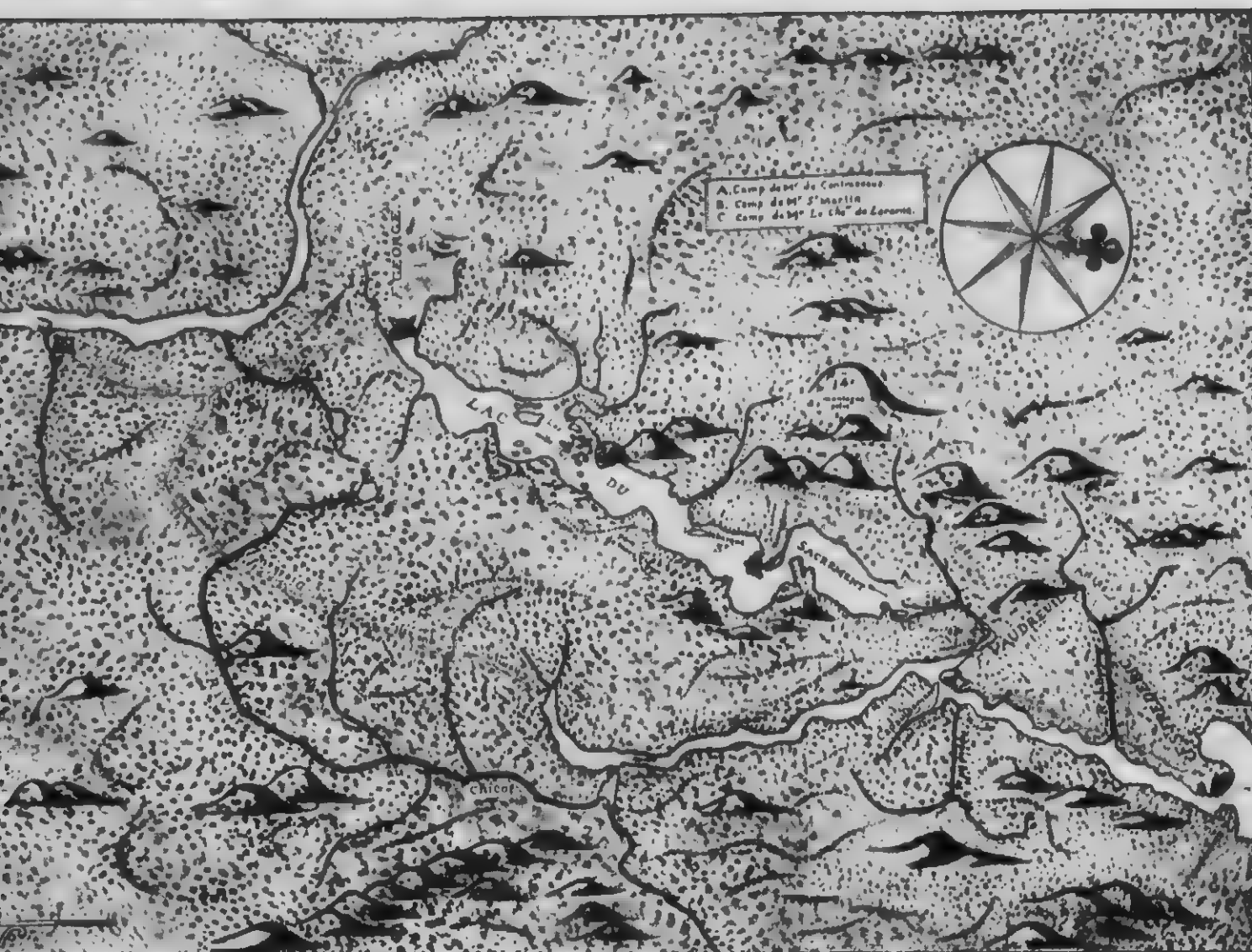
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PLAN OF THE COUNTRY FROM FORT FREDERIC TO ALBANY, SHOWING LAKE ST. SA

From the original manuscript in the possession of the Editor. This  
 by a Recollect Father, who stated that it had been

# MONTCALM'S PLAN



LAKE ST. SACREMENT AND THE FORTS CONSTRUCTED IN THAT PART OF NORTH AMERICA, 1757

Editor. This manuscript was presented about the year 1800 to the Hon. Mr. Neilson that it had been designed for the use of the Marquis de Montcalm.



landers got on with theirs. Montgomery's and the Connecticut encamped at night near Stillwater.

5<sup>th</sup> to Saratoga visited the Camps & out Posts at the carrying Place, several of the batteaus damaged and some men bruised in working them over the Falls, but in general every thing getting on well.

6<sup>th</sup> to Fort Miller crossed the river to the carrying place, where the Inniskilling & seven Companies of late Forbes's are encamped, the batteaus as well as provisions are taken out here & carried cross a Neck of land as the Riffs are not passable. I got to Fort Edward in the Evening, where part of the Artillery Stores, Royal Highlanders & Massachusetts were arrived, fixed the Camp for the Troops. a Scouting party came in said there were some Indians passed about ten miles to the Eastward, ordered out a party to waylay them, sent out scouts to right and left that I might be informed in time of any partys passing down to fall on our Communication.

7<sup>th</sup> very bad weather, I had a Letter from B<sup>c</sup> General Prideaux enclosing one from L<sup>t</sup> Colonel Massey of the 4<sup>th</sup> from Fort Stanwix giving an account that they had heard a firing at the Fort, on which he sent out two partys, the Fire was on some batteaus men who went up with the two 18 pounders, they killed seven of which six were scalped, one left not scalped, one wounded who will do well, one missing (I fear the batteaus men were asleep on shore and without arms) besides a Soldier of Murrays taken Prisoner near the Fort, the cannon safe. a scouting party of Oneida Indians that were sent to Swegatchie,<sup>1</sup> brought in a Prisoner whom they took fishing, he is a German of the Marine & says at Swegatchie there is no kind of cannon, a stockaded Post, a Captain & 30 men there, they are to set it on fire on approach of the English, that about 30 large batteaus went loaded with provisions to Niagara lately, that three leagues below Swegatchie 150 men with an Engineer are building a Fort on an Island

<sup>1</sup> Oswegatche.

near the Falls, that fifteen days ago two Brigs sailed for Niagara that were built this season at Swegatchie one carrying seven Guns, the other six, 6 Pounders, they are now building more, he hears Mons<sup>r</sup>. Montcalm is at Carillon. Royal Highland Reg<sup>t</sup> arrived this night, not a dry thread on them.

8<sup>th</sup>. I went in the morning to a post which I had ordered for the security of the communication to the Lake.

9<sup>th</sup>. Ordered the Troops to take two trips from each carrying place which will shorten the time of bringing provisions up. Montgomery's Reg<sup>t</sup> arrived with their batteaus, the men greatly fatigued, some Scouts returned had not discovered any thing, except one going to the Lake, saw a party of the Enemy, I sent out directly, could not see any appearance of them.

10<sup>th</sup>. all the Troops that could be spared from Camp went with batteaus to Fort Miller for provisions, Col Schuyler arrived at night with Jersey Reg<sup>t</sup> & whale boats, some left behind damaged coming up the river. Molasses arrived for brewing.

11<sup>th</sup>. a Letter from the Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Governor of New York that Admiral Saunders had wrote him word that two men of war were coming to New York with Troops from Guadaloupe; I desired any bound to River S<sup>t</sup>. Lawrence might be sent away directly, if any Troops ordered here to be sent immediately to Albany, most of the Artillery Stores arrived, mended the roads towards the Lake, two Scouts sent to Crown point.

I had a Letter from B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux acquainting me the Enemy Indians had scalped some people below S<sup>r</sup>. W<sup>m</sup>. Johnsons and he feared had taken a Messenger he had sent there and what was worse he had mentioned in his letter that he had asked the Haubitz [howitzer] at Fort Stanwix for the reduction of Niagara which would discover the scheme. this can be of no bad consequence, 'tis too late now for the Enemy to provide against it.

Troops in Camp at Fort Edward this day detachment of

the Royal 170. Royal Highland & Montgomery's Regiments. 2 Batt<sup>ns</sup>. Massachusetts, 1 Rhode Island 1 Jersey, Gage's light Infantry and part of the Rhode Island Reg<sup>t</sup> with some Rangers & Indians at 4 miles Post Prideaux's in the Fort. Rangers and Indians Huttet near the Camp.

12<sup>th</sup>. a Battalion of Connecticut Troops arrived with batteaüs and provisions, a great deal of Rain, continued mending the Roads.

13<sup>th</sup>. a scout from Sagendaga said some Indians had passed, I sent a party to way lay. detached Colonel Grant with the R: H: Regiment, 500 Provincials, a Company of Gage's, one of Rangers, & one of Indians, with two six Pounders, to erect a Post at half way brook. I had a Letter from B<sup>r</sup> General Gage (whom I have left at Albany to compleat the Provincials with every thing as they arrive & to hasten them up here, & to bring up the rear without waiting for the additional Massachusetts & Connecticut Troops) enclosing an examination of two Prisoners taken 29<sup>th</sup>. May at Crown Point, by some of S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson's Indians, viz<sup>t</sup>, that on the 11<sup>th</sup>. of May the Batt<sup>n</sup> of La Reine Languedoc 2 of Berry & 500 Canadiens passed for Tionderogo, some more Canadiens were on the march but countermanded. all the other Troops are for Quebec, where Mons<sup>r</sup> Vaudreuil who was at Montreal is to Joyn Mons<sup>r</sup> Montcalm, and Mons<sup>r</sup> Levy to comãd at Tionderoga. Mons<sup>r</sup> Bougainville Aid de Camp to Mons<sup>r</sup> de Montcalm arrived at Quebec from France on the 11<sup>th</sup>. May, in a Frigate which had taken an English Vessel with Salt wine & Provisions after an Engagement of seven hours, at the same time were arrived nineteen Vessels with provisions, but no Troops on board, fifteen more ships sailed with them but were taken or dispersed. a Fleet expected from France, that they were hard at work at Quebec and Tionderoga, the Garrison of the later place much afflicted with the Scurvy, a Pound and half of bread, and a quarter of Pork issued daily to the Troops, the remainder in Money 3 Sols for half a Pound



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of bread & 3 Sols in lieu of a Quarter of a Pound of Pork.

14<sup>th</sup>. I ordered out Grenadiers Light Infantry & Rangers to make a general Search in the woods to try if there were any lurking Party's, some of the men lost themselves notwithstanding the greatest precaution had been taken to prevent it. Colonel Bradstreet arrived from Albany at night, brought up a great many of the Waggon with him—reported every thing coming on well.

15<sup>th</sup>. I sent off all the Waggon with Artillery Stores to half way brook, some batteaus on Carriages & whale boats on mens Shoulders.

16<sup>th</sup>. Col: Whittings Reg<sup>t</sup>. arrived with batteaus & provisions, I sent all the Waggon with stores and Provisions and some light Artillery to half way brook, the Royal marched into Camp except the Garrison of Fort Miller, very bad weather.

17<sup>th</sup>. it rained all the day, a Flag of Truce from Tionderoga arrived at Colonel Grant's Post, who forwarded it to me, I enclose to you, Sir, the Letters from Mons<sup>r</sup> de Montcalm and Mons<sup>r</sup> Burlemaque<sup>1</sup> with Copys of my Answer. I expected they would send to see how far I was Advanced, and took care the Major should not see anything.

I intended to have marched some Troops forward this day but the weather stoped it, and though I had repaired the Roads thoroughly, they are now so bad half the Carriages are broke by it, but this is easily repaired with the Carpenters I have, it is the retardment only of a few days.

18<sup>th</sup>. I sent off the Flag of truce at day break, a Batt<sup>n</sup> of Massachusetts marched to half way brook. B<sup>r</sup> General Gage and Col<sup>o</sup> Montresor with the detachment of the Royal and Part of late Forbes's; in the Afternoon as violent a rain as I have seen.

<sup>1</sup> Copies of these letters relating to the exchange of prisoners and scalping are to be found in *Canadian Archives*, M. 212.

19<sup>th</sup> the Royal, Jersey Reg<sup>t</sup> a Battalion of Connecticut & Rangers are marched at day break under the command of Col Foster to half way brook, Prideaux's to Joyn the above Corps leaving the Connecticut Batt<sup>n</sup> at half way brook, they are to take Post between that and the Lake.

The Packet which sailed from Falmouth on the 10<sup>th</sup> Aprill arrived at New York the 16<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> and I have just now had the Honour, Sir, of receiving the duplicates of your several Letters of which I have owned the receipt in this Letter on the 30<sup>th</sup> Aprill. I have this day a Letter from B<sup>r</sup> General Prideaux of the 15<sup>th</sup> of which I send you an Extract enclosed.

the great discontent amongst many people employed in the Government Service, for want of payment, there not being money sufficient for it, I have judged it for the good of His Majesty's Service to make application to the L<sup>d</sup> Governor of New York to borrow a Sum, which I hope you will approve.

I send this by Captain Stuart who was Lieu<sup>t</sup> in Anstruthers, and is now in Seabrights,<sup>1</sup> as he has been a Volunteer here, till a Packet should sail, he can explain to you, Sir, any particulars you may chuse to know.

I enclose to you all papers that I imagine may tend to give you a full information of the state of military affairs here.

I will do the utmost I can for carrying on the Operations according to His Majesty's gracious intentions which I will do with all the dispatch that is possible, and I hope soon, Sir, to send you an account of some signal success of His Majesty's Arms.

I am with the utmost Respect

Sir

Your most Humble and

most obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> M<sup>r</sup> PITT.

<sup>1</sup> John Seabright, Colonel of the 83rd Regiment of Foot, October 14, 1758.  
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P.S.—I return both the Letters I have received directed to B<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Forbes.

Camp of Fort Edward  
June 19<sup>th</sup> 1759.

Indorsed. Fort Edward  
June 9<sup>th</sup> 1759.

M. Gen<sup>l</sup> AMHERST  
R<sup>d</sup>. July 22<sup>d</sup>.

PART III.—*Journal from June 20 to July 27, 1759 (kept by Colonel William Amherst, brother of the Commander-in-Chief). Enclosed in despatch, Amherst to Pitt, July 27, 1759: Transcript in Canadian Archives, M. 213-1, from the original in the Public Record Office, London: C.O. 5: 56, formerly A. & W. I. 91-1.*

Fort Edward.

June 20<sup>th</sup>. The General having got most of the troops up with provisions, batteaus and carriages, is determined to set forward to the lake tomorrow, leaving here Montgomery's and the New Hampshire Reg<sup>t</sup>.

Two more posts are made to secure the communication to the lake. one at half way brook, where the Royal Highland Reg<sup>t</sup> & one Connecticut Reg<sup>t</sup> are posted, the other four miles further, where the Royal, Prideaux's and New Jersey Reg<sup>ts</sup> are posted.

21<sup>st</sup>. The Army marched out of camp at day break in two columns, Royal Highland Reg<sup>t</sup> joined us upon the march, we halted at the furthest post & the whole got to their ground, & were encamped before dusk at the Lake.

23<sup>d</sup>. Letters from Louisbourg, the Fleet sailed out of the harbour the 6<sup>th</sup>. inst.

25<sup>th</sup>. The New Jersey Reg<sup>t</sup>. marched into Camp.

26<sup>th</sup>. The last of the Batteau and whale boats came in this day.

Letters from Brigadier Prideaux at the east end of the Oneida lake, every thing going on well there. the Indians join him heartily.

30<sup>th</sup>. Since the 26<sup>th</sup>. provisions have been coming in daily, there is near two months provisions for the whole Army here at present.

July 1<sup>st</sup>. To day Artillery Stores come in. two men arrived here who were prisoners with the Indians at Oswegatchie, and made their escape from thence, they fell in at the four mile post, after having been 27 days out. travelling through an unknown Country, their description of it is, that 'tis very mountainous, the bottoms deep, and swampy, that they crossed several ponds, and lakes, one in particular they judged might be three miles across. they say the Oswegatchi Indians have received a threatening message from the five nations, if they should act against us: that four Scouts have been out this year from thence, and returned unsuccessfull, two Scouts were out when they came away, which are probably those that have lately done some mischief on the Mohawk River.

Brigadier Whitmore sends an Account from Louisbourg, that Cap<sup>t</sup>. Stobo, and L<sup>t</sup>. Stevens, who have been prisoners at Quebec, made their escape from thence the 1<sup>st</sup>. of May with three more prisoners, all with arms in a Canoe, after going down the River seven days, they saw a fleet of 14 sail, which must be the same Mons<sup>r</sup>. Bougainville came with; they saw a Sloop, boarded her, and took her and afterwards took a Schooner, and turned her, got safe to S<sup>t</sup>. John's Island and from thence to Louisbourg, they say the Enemy wanted provisions much, that their whole force was then marched to S<sup>t</sup>. John's, to be equally ready for Quebec Montreal, and Tionderoga.

Brigadier Whitmore sent Cap<sup>t</sup>. Stobo immediately after Gen<sup>l</sup>. Wolfe.

2<sup>d</sup>. A party of Indians, this morning, attacked a working party of the New Jersey Reg<sup>t</sup>. near our advanced post upon the left, they killed and scalped six, wounded two, and six are missing, they were pursued by the light infantry, and Rangers, and were seen to go off in eleven Canoes; some Regulars with them.

3<sup>d</sup>. Montgomery's, the New Hampshire and Willard's Massachuset Reg<sup>t</sup>. (who has joined since we came to the Lake) marched into Camp this evening with all the Artillery from Fort Edward.

8<sup>th</sup>. From the 3<sup>d</sup> to this time, Waggon's have been continually coming in from Fort Edward with Stores &c. many hands have been, and are still employed in laying the foundation of a Fort, to be carried on here during our absence, under the direction of Colonel Montresor.

thirty yards on each side the road to Fort Edward has been cleared of wood.

a general hospital is building and all the batteaus and whale boats are repairing of the damage done by carriage, which is not little.

a Party of Rangers that had been across the Lake upon a Scout, came in to day, they saw Cap<sup>t</sup>. Jacobs<sup>1</sup> with a party of Indians at the narrows upon their return from a Scout, pursued by some Canoes, and heard some shots fired.

9<sup>th</sup>. Some of Jacobs's party came in, the canoes drove them in shore on the west side of the Lake, when they landed, and the enemy Indians pursued them closely, they imagine that Cap<sup>t</sup>. Jacobs with the remainder of the party, are killed, or taken prisoners.

10<sup>th</sup>. a Field day of the four Regular Regiments in Camp.

11<sup>th</sup>. Whiting's Connecticut Reg<sup>t</sup>. marched into Camp,

<sup>1</sup> The Indian name of this officer was *Nawnawapeteoonks*. See note, vol. i. p. 484.

from the three miles post, and Prideaux's marched from the four miles post, to the three miles post.

12<sup>th</sup>. Four Companies of Grenadiers and a Captain, Subaltern and Sixty men of Gage's, in batteaüs, commanded by Major Campbell, and Major Rogers with an hundred Rangers, and Indians in whale boats, went out this morning an hour before day break, taking with them a row gally with an 18 pounder, their orders were, to row along the East side of the Lake to the narrows; for two or three of the whale boats to advance, and endeavour to entice out any party of the Enemy, that might be laying at the narrows; the batteaüs laying hid by the Islands, and ready to receive any thing that the whale boats might lead into the Snare; upon a great superiority, they were to retreat to a point of land on the West side, where the picquets of the line were to cover them. the whale boats advanced, discovered the enemy upon an Island, who fired upon them, killed a Serjeant and wounded an Indian, the whale boats returned it, and killed an Indian, the Enemy took to their Canoes, and the batteaüs came up to support the whale boats, but fired their cannon too soon at the canoes, had they kept it undiscovered, till they were near enough to do execution with grape shot, they might have given a very good account of them. After this discovery the Enemy took care to keep at a distance, and made off. they had about twenty canoes, chiefly Indians.

13<sup>th</sup>. Thirteen rafts making for Cannon. a Radeau building and half finished. The Sloop that was sunk in the Lake last year, is got up, and compleated, Cap<sup>t</sup> Loring having been about it almost ever since we came here.

14<sup>th</sup>. Lyman's Connecticut Reg<sup>t</sup> and 1 Battalion of Ruggles's Massachuset Reg<sup>t</sup> with two Companies of the New Jersey Reg<sup>t</sup> and 2 Companies of Rangers, marched into Camp this afternoon from Half way brook.

15<sup>th</sup>. 120 men of Montgomery's joined their Regiment from Pittsburg.

th: Companies of light infantry, a Company of Grenadiers 250 men of Gage's, commanded by Major Gladwin, and 60 men of the Inniskilling Reg<sup>t</sup> were ordered out in boats this evening at 10 o'clock to row to the narrows, to discover any parties of the Enemy upon the Islands.

16<sup>th</sup> the detachment that went out in boats last night came in this morning without having made any discovery.

17<sup>th</sup> The General received intelligence from Col Haldimand (who is left with 1300 men to build a Fort at Oswego) that Gen<sup>l</sup> Prideaux set out from thence the 1<sup>st</sup> ins<sup>t</sup> to proceed to Niagara; that on the 5<sup>th</sup> Col Haldimand having entrenched his post, perceived in the morning a body of the Enemy surrounding his post; they lay the whole day amongst the cut wood, and kept fir'g at a great distance; at night they went off but returned the next morning, when the greatest part of them seemed moving up to the left of the entrenchment, where he had three pices of cannon, upon firing of which, they all took to logs and after remaining a short time, moved off.

Col. Haldimand saw them afterwards in batteaüs upon the Lake.

five deserters came in to him, who say, that this party was commanded by the Chev<sup>e</sup> de la Corne, that it consisted of 2 or 300 of the Marine Canadians, and 150 Indians (the General judges it might consist of about half that number) de la Corne had assured them, that we had only 500 men at that post, and that they should certainly surprize us; that a french priest l' Abbé Picquet marched with them, 'till they made the attack. then gave them his benediction, and recommended it to them to give no quarter. We had two men killed, two officers and eleven men wounded, the loss of the Enemy not known, except an Officer of the Marine killed, and the Governor of La Galette wounded.

to day we are loading the Artillery stores; 500 men at work cutting a communication through the wood upon the

right of the road to Fort Edward, to fall in to the old road beyond the next post.

A Flag of truce came in this evening with a letter from Mons<sup>r</sup> Montcalm to the General, dated from Montreal.

18<sup>th</sup>. The Flag of truce returned at day break, we heard by it, that Cap<sup>t</sup>. Jacobs, and some of his party that have been missing since the 9<sup>th</sup>. were taken and carried to Montreal.

continued loading and mounting the Artillery upon rafts. the new communication continued. a very good post is almost finished with stone and log, for the party that remains here to go on with the New Fort, and near three acres of ground is cleared and laid out for greens for the sick men

19<sup>th</sup>. The General received a Letter from the L<sup>d</sup> Governour at New York, mentioning that the 2<sup>d</sup>. Battalion of Royal Highlanders, and drafts from some of the Regiments that were at Guardaloupe were arrived at New York, to join this Army, but they were so sickly, that it would be some time before any number would be fit to join.

20<sup>th</sup>. The Radeau being finished, and all the Artillery near embarked, the General gave Orders for the Army to be ready to embark at any hour in the night, after Orders, to strike their tents at 2 o'clock to morrow morning.

The Royal, and Prideaux's Regiment marched into Camp.

21<sup>st</sup>. The Army begun to embark at day break, and the whole set off (except a few boats of the Artillery) about nine o'clock.

The whole was drawn up in four columns, each column rowing two boats abreast, the 1<sup>st</sup>. column consisted of Rangers, light infantry of Regiments, Grenadiers, and the two provincial Reg<sup>ts</sup>. of Wellard,<sup>1</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. of Ruggles.

2<sup>nd</sup>. Column, the two Brigades of Regulars.

3<sup>rd</sup>. Column. Artillery with the Radeau in front, and the two provincial Regiments, of Schuyler, and 1<sup>st</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. of Ruggles.

<sup>1</sup> Willard.



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4<sup>th</sup> Column. Provincials, Gage's light infantry in a line abreast, covering the four columns in front.

Whiting's provincial Reg<sup>t</sup> in a line abreast covering the four columns in the rear.

The Hallifax Sloop cruized in the rear of the whole.

The wind favoured us very much and we got to the second narrows in time to bring up the rear before dark.

Brigadier Gage who was left behind to see every boat off, joined us. we lay upon the lake all night, the heads of the columns closing in, and the two boats abreast tied, to prevent separating as much as possible.

22<sup>nd</sup>. At day break the 1<sup>st</sup> column advanced, and landed on the East side, within about two miles of the Enemy's advanced guard, and were ordered to march round to the Saw Mills, in order to cut off, any party of the Enemy, that we might force at the advanced guard, that the 1<sup>st</sup> column might have time to get round, and post themselves properly, the rest of the Army did not land 'till three hours after, which was effected in great good order, at the advanced guard on the East side; as every Regiment landed, it drew up on the beach, and marched off directly along the road to the Saw-Mills.

When Forbes's Regiment (which lead the Column covered by Gage's light infantry marching in front) came within sight of the Saw-Mills, they halted. The Rangers had just passed the Bridge, and the rest of the 1<sup>st</sup> column were drawn up near the bridge, to be ready to march over, and support them, the Rangers met with a party of French, and Indians, attacked them, and drove them, took an Officer of the Milice, and two prisoners, killed and scalped a few more. The Grenadiers and light infantry marched over, and with the Rangers took possession of the heights; very strong ground it is, and worth disputing, but the Enemy were rather surprized, they had received no intelligence of us 'till 8 o'clock this morning, and then gave very little credit to it.

Wellard's Reg<sup>t</sup> and Ruggles's 2<sup>nd</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup> marched and took post on a hill to the eastward, which commands the Fort of Tionderoga on the opposite Side of the River.

Gage's light infantry marched over the bridge, and a post was made on the most commanding ground.

The Regular Regiments upon the road covering the whole ground, from the Saw Mills to the landing place, two provincial Reg<sup>ts</sup> were ordered to clear the road of felled trees, which were laid very thick all along the road, to obstruct our march, this they did in so short a time, that we got two 12 pounders, and two six pounders from the landing place, to the Saw-Mills before night.

Forbes's & the provincial Reg<sup>ts</sup> of Lyman, and Babcock, marched over the bridge in the afternoon, the rest of the Army laid upon their arms on the road, except Whiting's Reg<sup>t</sup> that was left as a guard upon the batteaüs.

a party of the Enemy shewed themselves in the afternoon, upon a hill, on the right of the Saw Mills, and kept firing at a great distance, they appeared to have a breast work there.

Some Indians came up to the front of Gage's, fired and made off, and others fell in at night with some of our Sentries upon the road.

A Sloop appeared in the River, on the other side the Fort, and intelligence was sent from Ruggles's post, that the Enemy were seen loading batteaüs, and some making off towards Lake Champlain.

The General ordered the army to be ready to march at break of day.

23<sup>rd</sup>. The Army had begun their march, leaving proper posts at the Saw-Mills, and to secure the communication on the road; when intelligence came in from Ruggles's post, that the Enemy had abandoned the lines, a few Sentries only appearing there, that they had set fire to something in the Fort, and were loading batteaüs.

The Army marched the shortest way, over the gullies, by

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the side of the River, very bad ground, and in about two hours time the left came within sight of the lines, we found them abandoned, and left entire; the Enemy had retired to the Fort, and upon our first appearance, fired some cannon.

The Rangers, light infantry and Grenadiers marched to the left to the Lake side and took post in the wood along the Swamp, the two brigades of Regulars took post along the lines, and every Reg<sup>t</sup> flung up a banquet: the provincials in the skirts of the wood, extending from the river upon the right, to the light infantry, in this manner the Fort becomes invested.

The Enemy have been firing the whole day from the Fort, and have thrown a great many shells.

The whole Army lay upon their Arms this night.

24<sup>th</sup>. Begun our Approach: last night, not much work done, as the men have been a good deal fatigued.

two 12 pounders, and two howitzers came up in the night.

Some Indians fired upon a Company of Rangers, advanced upon our left, the Rangers returned the fire, and the Indians made off.

An alarm upon our left in the Night, a Company of light Infantry began the fire, which was continued by some others, directly contrary to the General's orders, not to fire in the night upon any account but to stand fast and receive the Enemy with the bayonet, An Officer of Forbes's was killed, and some men wounded.

The General ordered the New Hampshire Reg<sup>t</sup> to embark and cross Lake George, to proceed to Oswego, to help build the Fort there; and that Brigadier Prideaux may find at his return full force sufficient to proceed, the General has likewise sent him 350 men, the whole fit for duty out of 693 drafts from Guardaloupe.

The Enemy have fired all day and have thrown a great many shells into Camp; doing very little execution.

25<sup>th</sup>. The enemy fired, and threw shells into Camp, and at our approaches all last night, the two brigades of Regulars

got no rest, as they were obliged to watch the shells for their security.

An alarm along the line a little before day break this morning owing to a picquet of Forbes's in the trenches mistaking a working party upon the right, for the enemy.

The General went along the line immediately and highly disapproved of the conduct of some that fired from the lines, contrary to his repeated orders.

Fascines are making for the batteries, six 24 pounders and some 12 p<sup>rs</sup> are got up to the Artillery park.

two batteries are erecting one upon the right about 400 yards from the Fort and one upon the left about 450, besides two Mortar batteries.

The Flat bottom boat, is brought up from the Artillery landing place, on this side the Saw-Mills, and put into the Lake, and some Whale boats are bringing up, to intercept some of the Enemy's boats upon the lake.

Some of the Enemy's batteaus seemed to day to be preparing for a run.

Colonel Townshend was killed this afternoon by a Cannon ball.

the Enemy have fired very briskly all day, and have thrown a great many shells into Camp. killing a few men and wounding several, towards evening they ceased, we imagine they have burst one Mortar.

The Royal Reg<sup>t</sup> does the duty of the trenches this night, which was done before by picquets.

26<sup>th</sup>. The Enemy kept firing and throwing shells all last night at times, and have continued this whole day; that it is imagined they must ruin their cannon, and mortars, except they have a change of each.

Our batteries will be ready to begin firing to morrow morning at day break, the Platforms are laying this evening, and the cannon are coming down from the Artillery Park.

Duty in the trenches done this night by Forbes's.

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The picquets of the line ordered to assemble near the Sally port, in the center of our lines, to march out upon occasion.

Major Rogers to go out this evening with a party in the flat bottom boat, and endeavour to cut the boom, which the Enemy have laid across, from the point below the Fort to the opposite shore.

This afternoon a party of Indians attacked a working party of Worster's Connecticut Reg<sup>t</sup> killed and scalped three, they were closely pursued.

a batteau with some Waggoner's crossing Lake George, and running negligently in shore, without keeping watch, was seized by a party of Indians, and every man scalped.

The enemy's boats appeared upon the lake this afternoon, some running in to the opposite shore, and others making towards the Fort.

a little before dark we observed the enemy getting under arms in the covered way, and part of them came out on the Glacis, the Garrison ceased firing, and about 9 o'clock three deserters came to Camp, and told us that the Garrison were then embarking in their batteaus to make off, leaving a match to the Magazine, which would blow up the whole Fort, the General offered a hundred guineas to any one of them, that would go back & shew the match, that it might be cut, but they all declared they did not know whereabouts it was laid as it was not done before they came out, they said there was so great a quantity of powder left in the Magazine that they did not think us safe in our encampment.

about 11 o'clock we heard the explosion, and the whole Fort seemed to be on fire, they had left their colours flying, which a Serj<sup>t</sup> and 4 men of Gage's light infantry rescued from the flames.

a Party upon the left fell in with a Party of french, of 20 men commanded by a Cadet, who declared that they were left out of the Fort, and knew nothing of the enemy's having abandoned it, till they heard the Explosion.

## Intelligence from the Deserters

that three thousand men composed of the two Battalions of Berri, and the Regiment La Reine, the picquets that had remained in the Fort during the winter, detachm<sup>ts</sup>. from La Marine and La Milice and three hundred Indians, were encamped in the lines, the day we landed, commanded by Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bour la Margue,<sup>1</sup> Brigadier General.

That they embarked in the evening in a great hurry, taking very few things with them, and leaving 400 men in the Fort, they went and encamped on a point of land, on this side Crown point, at a small distance from it, where they still remain.

that some Troops are at St<sup>e</sup> Johns chiefly Colony, and are entrenching themselves in the Isle à la' Noix near St<sup>e</sup> John's.

that they know nothing for certain of Quebec.

27<sup>th</sup>. The Fort continued burning, in the morning the General ordered all the Camp kettles to be taken down there for water, to endeavour to extinguish the fire, the two sides of the Fort next the water are demolished the other two sides remain entire, the flames had only reached the uppermost timbers, which may easily be repaired, if the fire can be stopped in time.

The General will not wait to repair the Fort, he will leave a Garrison there and so soon as he gets the batteaüs in to Lake Champlain, and builds a boat or two mor. for cannon, to be a match for the three Sloops which the Enemy have at Crown point, he will then proceed which I reckon will be in less than a fortnight.

I left the Camp in the afternoon, the Fort then burning, though not with so much violence as in the morning.

Major Rogers had taken two of the enemy's batteaüs loaded with powder, that went off last night and had put into the Shore.

Indorsed.

Col<sup>o</sup>. Amhersts Journal.

<sup>1</sup> Bourlamaque.

PART IV.—*Major-General Jeffery Amherst's Journal from July 27 to August 5, 1759. (Amherst to Pitt, August 5, 1759: Public Record Office, as before.)*

Camp of Crown Point

August 5<sup>th</sup> 1759.

Sir,

I did myself the Honor of writing to you a very short Letter on the 27<sup>th</sup> July as I would not retard L<sup>t</sup> Col Amherst from setting out that he might acquaint you of His Majesty's Troops being in possession of the Fort and lines of Tionderoga, and I now send Captain Prescott with this to inform you of the great Event of the reduction of Niagara, and at the same time to give you an account of my arrival here with a part of the Army under my immediate command.

The 27<sup>th</sup> I encamped within the Lines and began to level the Trenches and Batterys, filled up the Road I had made from Lake Champlain to the Saw Mill River for the carrying on the Siege. encamped four Battallions of Provincials near the Fort for repairing the works, sent 500 Men to Fort George for Provisions &c. ordered all the french boats to be fished up, and the Brig: and boats I had ordered to be built for carrying Guns to be finished in all haste that I may be superior to the Enemy's Sloops on the Lake.

28<sup>th</sup> the fire was not totally extinguished, I forwarded every thing as fast as possible that I might get possession of Crown point without loss of time. in the Afternoon I received an account of a most unlucky accident the death of B<sup>r</sup> General Prideaux who was walking in the Trenches on the Evening of the 19<sup>th</sup>, the Gunner carelessly fired a Cohorn and shot him, when the approaches were within 140 yards of the covered way. I immediately ordered B<sup>r</sup> General Gage to set out for Oswego to take on him the command of that Army.

29<sup>th</sup>. Five Company's of Provincials arrived this day from the Provinces, intelligence that the Enemy's Troops which were Encamped on the Eastern side of the Lake were now moved to Crown point; I kept small Party's constantly looking from the Mountains into Crown point, their two Sloops and a Schooner there, they depend on my not getting boats over and that I shall be obliged to build some of force.

30<sup>th</sup>. it rained hard last night and this day which put a great stop to getting the batteaüs over the carrying place.

31<sup>st</sup>. I ordered the Fort by the water side to be put in thorough good order and to be compleated, as the Enemy had not quite finished it, ordered the Fort of Tionderoga to be repaired upon the same plan as the Enemy had built it; which will save great time and Expences, as it is but a small part of the whole that is ruined, the Costs the Enemy has been at in building the Fort and Houses are very great; the Glacis and covered way quite good; the Counterscarp of the Glacis Masonry, the Counterscarp of the Ditch Masonry. two Ravelins of Masonry that cover the only Front to which approaches can be carried on. The Fort a Square with four Bastions, built with logs on the Rocks which are covered with some masonry to level the foundation. the wood part of it is the worse finished. one Bastion and a part of two Curtains demolished but not in the Front that can be easiest attacked, the Casemates are good. the walls of the burnt Barracks are not damaged. Eleven good ovens have helped us greatly. as the Situation of the Fort is very advantageous for the protection of His Majesty's Dominions, and the Approaches may be rendered as difficult to the Enemy as they have been to the King's Troops, and that there is no fault in it but its being small, I have thought proper to have it repaired which I hope will meet with your approbation.

1<sup>st</sup>. of August, at noon a Scouting party came in, said the Enemy had abandoned Crown point, this makes no alteration in my motions as I am already trying all I can to get forward,



but on this I sent away Major Graham with all expedition to command the 2<sup>d</sup>. Battalion of the Royal Highland Reg<sup>t</sup> and to march them to Oswego, that in case from the unfortunate death of B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux the reduction should not have taken place, B<sup>r</sup>. General Gage may return to the attack with the Utmost Vigor and dispatch and to pursue the ulterior operations of the Campaign.

2<sup>d</sup>. very rainy weather put a stop entirely to getting boats over the carrying place this day.

3<sup>rd</sup>. a party I had sent to Crown point brought in a Deserter from late Forbes's in a french Coat, one that I had pardoned for desertion when I was at Fort George.

I thought it so necessary to make an immediate example that I had him hanged directly. sent two hundred Rangers through the Woods to Crown point.

4<sup>th</sup> the General at two in the morning assembly half an Hour after, and the Rangers, light Infantry, Grenadiers and two Brigades of Regulars were soon embarked, except the Royal Highland Regiment that waited for boats which detained me some time, I however arrived at Crown point before the evening, landed and posted all the Corps, some Encamped and some lay on their Arms. at night Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Moncrief whom I had sent with B<sup>r</sup>. General Prideaux arrived with a Letter from S<sup>r</sup>. William Johnson enclosing the Capitulation of Niagara, both which I have the satisfaction to send to you.

5<sup>th</sup>. I ordered L<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Eyre to trace out the Ground for a Fort which I will set about with all possible Expedition. this Post secures entirely all His Majesty's Dominions that are behind it from the Inroads of the Enemy and the scalping party's that have infested the whole Country, and it will give great peace and quiet to the King's Subjects who will now settle in their habitations from this to New York. I shall take fast hold of it, and not neglect at the same time to forward every measure I can to enable me to pass Lake Champlain, and you may be assured, Sir, I shall, to the best of my Capacity

try to pursue every thing for the Success and Honour of His Majesty's Arms.

I am with the utmost Respect

Sir

Your most Humble and  
most obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST.

Right Honourable

Mr. PITT.

Indorsed. Crown point Aug 5<sup>th</sup>. 1759.

M. Gen<sup>l</sup> AMHERST.

R. Sep<sup>r</sup>. 8<sup>th</sup>.

by Captain PRESCOT.

PART V.—*Major-General Jeffery Amherst's Journal from August 6 to October 22, 1759 (Amherst to Pitt, October 22, 1759: Public Record Office, as before).*

Camp of Crown Point.

October 22<sup>d</sup>. 1759.

Sir,

I hope you will have received my Letters of the 27<sup>th</sup> of July and 5<sup>th</sup> of August, the first by L<sup>t</sup> Col Amherst, and the last by Captain Prescott, since which on the 6<sup>th</sup> the ground was marked out for a Fort and all preparations made for erecting it. at night 48 of the Drafts from Guadaloupe arrived the only remaining which are able to march after the 350 I sent to recruit the Regiments at Oswego.

7<sup>th</sup>. I went in the morning to reconnoitre the Environs, order'd a Road to be cut from the Village to Joyn the one I had directed to be made from Tionderoga for driving Cattle, &c<sup>c</sup>, ordered two Redoutes, wrote to M. General Wolfe, whom

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I had likewise wrote to the day Tionderoga was abandoned, sent an Ensign of the Rangers with it, who was confident he could easily joyn the Army under the command of M: Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe by the Kennebeck River, but it is a round about way and must take up great time.

8<sup>th</sup>. Captain Kennedy of late Forbes's offered to go through the Country a much nearer way to the river S<sup>t</sup> Laurence, and as it is of great consequence that I should hear from M: Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe as well as that he should from me, I sent Captain Kennedy with Lieut Hamilton of the Royal, Captain Jacobs and four Indians to go through the Settlements of the Indians on the South of the River S<sup>t</sup> Laurence with a proposal from me, and with orders to take their answer to M. Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe that they might be treated accordingly, this in all probability was the quickest method of conveying intelligence to M. Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe, a great storm of wind and rain damaged some of our Batteaus. I sent two Scouts to S<sup>t</sup> Johns, and 200 Rangers to cut a road to N<sup>o</sup>. 4 to open a Communication from the Massachusetts & New Hampshire Governments to Crown point, sent a Party of 300 men with a Covering party to lay in the Woods to prepare timber. 68 oxen arrived by the Road from Tionderoga for drawing timber &<sup>ca</sup>.

9<sup>th</sup>. 400 men at work on the ground fixed for the Fort, the best Situation I have seen in America, no where commanded, and has all the advantages of the Lake, and Strength of Ground that can be desired.

10<sup>th</sup>. a great deal of rain and from all Accounts we have had more this Summer than any people remember in this Country, the works for the Fort going on pretty well—800 men employed.

11<sup>th</sup>. At day break I sent out a party of 200 Rangers, 100 of Gage's, a Company of light Infantry & one of Grenadiers under the command of L<sup>t</sup>: Col: Darby with two boats with 3 Pounders to explore the Part of the Otter River near the Lake, ten men of the scouting Partys I had sent to S<sup>t</sup>:

Johns returned with a note from Captain Kennedy, to inform me he had seen a Brigantine, a Schooner, and a topsail Sloop of the Enemys as he lay on the Eastern Shore below Corlear's Rock, the ten Rangers got by the Vessels in the night, and as they met L<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Darby reported what they had seen.

12<sup>th</sup>. very bad weather, Letters arrived from England by the Lutwiche Packet, L<sup>t</sup>. Col Darby returned with his Party in the Afternoon from the Otter River.<sup>1</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup>. Garth,<sup>2</sup> Engineer, went up to the first Falls and reported it quite a different River from what it has allways been described.

13<sup>th</sup>. I sent Cap<sup>t</sup>. Johnson with a party of Rangers to march to the Ottawa River, to the place where the road is to pass it in going to N<sup>o</sup>. 4, to proceed down the River to explore the whole and to return here by the Lake. 1500 Men at work at the Fort. Major Christie arrived from England.

14<sup>th</sup>. I sent Major Christie to serve as Deputy Quarter Master Gen<sup>l</sup> with Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup>. Gage and wrote to the Brigadier to recommend taking Post at La Galette as of the utmost Consequence, which was only repeating what I had before ordered. ordered a proportion of Stores to be sent from Albany & New York for the Garrison of Niagara.

15<sup>th</sup>. An Officer who was advanced down the Lake with the Guard boats, brought me a Letter from Monsieur de Montcalm of the 30<sup>th</sup>. July from Beauport & one from Monsieur de Bourlemaque which came by a Captain Le Beu with a Flag of truce, I answered the Letters directly, sent an Aid de Camp to Captain Le Beu who was stoped at such a distance that he could not see the Camp. began to lay the Logs of the Fort.

16<sup>th</sup>. a Deserter of the Reg<sup>t</sup>. of Languedoc came in from four Vessels which lay below les Isles au quatre Vent, got off on the 14<sup>th</sup>. from a Party that came on Shore, was at Tionderoga during the winter, says when they quitted the Fort, Mons<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Otter Creek.

<sup>2</sup> George Garth, Engineer Extraordinary, March 17, 1759.

d'Hebecourt the Officer who Comanded & another Officer were forced to land in the woods on the opposite side by our cannonading them, were three days lost in the woods before they Joyned Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlemaque's Camp and had narrowly escaped some of our People which they had seen, I suppose the Rangers I sent out. that Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlemaque is at present encamped at the Isle au Noix, five Leagues on this side of S<sup>t</sup> John's and the river narrow, that he has the same Troops which were at Tionderoga, viz<sup>t</sup> three Battalions of Regulars, five Pickets of the other five regular Batt<sup>a</sup> with the Canadians and La Marine making 3500 men and that he has 100 Cannon, the four Vessels are La Vigilante of ten Guns 6 & 4 pounders, a Schooner, a Sloop called Masque longuy of two brass 12 pounders and six Iron 6 pounders, La Brochette of Eight Guns 6 & 4 pounders, L'Esturgeon of Eight Guns 6 & 4 pounders all have Swivels mounted, three of the Vessels were built this year one is an old one, and another is repairing, Monsieur de la Bras a Captain of Man of War commands them with a Mons<sup>r</sup> Regal and other Sea Officers, part of the Picquets of Languedoc, Bearn and La Sarre are on board, and as he told me, the Officers and men went on shore to fish with Nets, I sent out Cap<sup>t</sup> Tute with a detachment of forty men to waylay them. on this intelligence of the Enemy's Vessel sent to Cap<sup>t</sup> Loring, who is building a Brigantine at Tionderoga, to come to me. Ordered Col: Bradstreet to Albany to look into the forwarding provisions up the Mohawk river and this way for the winter garrisons.

17<sup>th</sup> All the best of the timber being cut and brought in from the opposite shore I ordered back the Grenadiers and light Infantry that were the covering Party and we now begun to cut timber on the Western Shore. Cap<sup>t</sup> Loring came, I told him the force the Enemy had, he said the Brig would not be of sufficient strength and concluded on building a Radeau to carry Guns over the Lake as well as to use them on the Lake, he thought the Saw Mill would go in two or three days,

and supply the Planks, I ordered Col Whiting's Reg<sup>t</sup> to bring provisions here, the 1<sup>st</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> of Ruggles's to finish the road from Tionderoga, Col Wellard's to be divided between the Saw Mill & landing place, Whiting's to remain here to assist in erecting the Fort.

18<sup>th</sup>. 1600 labourers at work at the Fort, which with Artificers, timber cutters &c<sup>th</sup> the daily numbers at work exceed three thousand. I received a Letter from Mons<sup>r</sup> Duchot [Pouchot] a Cap<sup>t</sup> in Bearn, who comanded at Niagara, that a Lieutenant had deserted on the march which he disapproved much, the Officer had signed the Capitulation, took three men off with him.

19<sup>th</sup>. Ensign Wilson returned with his party of Rangers from S<sup>t</sup> John's, said two of his men who had formerly been prisoners there, had gone within two miles of the Place, but got amongst some Indians, and could not advance nearer; in going he parted with Cap<sup>t</sup> Kennedy as he went up Mischiscoüe<sup>1</sup> bay, in coming back passed the Enemy's vessels in the night which were at anchor in the same place as before.

20<sup>th</sup>. it rained hard which put a little stop to the works. I ordered a fence to close in all the best of the ground, running it from the upper part of the bay across to the lake on the South of the Fort, by which we shall at all times keep in the Cattle and it will be a vast advantage to this Fort. in the evening some Rangers reported they had seen Indians on the West side, it is very unlikely, but I ordered a Party after them, and I sent a party to explore the Sources of the Hudson's river.

21<sup>st</sup>. much rain fell, retarded our works. part of the party came back reported they had tracked the Indians and left the rest pursuing, at night the remainder came back, could not overtake. two men of late Prideaux's missing, who had contrary to orders been on the other side of the lake.

22<sup>d</sup>. sent two Scouts off L<sup>t</sup> Fletcher and ten Rangers

<sup>1</sup> Missisquoi Bay.

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to St. John's and a Serjeant and eight men to Isle au Noix. a party I sent out on the East side of the Lake brought in a french gun-case of an Officers, who I suppose comes from their shipping to try to see what we are about and popped upon the two Fools of Prideaux's Regim<sup>t</sup> who were out of all bounds and without Arms.

23<sup>d</sup>. I sent to Tionderoga for provisions. report, a boat coming in with a blue flag, the signal I had ordered the Guard Boats for the appearance of an inferior number of the Enemy, it proved to be Cap<sup>t</sup> Tute's<sup>1</sup> party in four Whale boats, the Indians firing & making a Yell of having Scalps, and a very great noise for a very little they had done; Cap<sup>t</sup> Tute lay opposite to the Enemy's Sloop's sometime but nobody came on shore, then crossed to the East side and finding a Canoo of the Enemy's with some things left with it, knew a Scouting party must be out, & he very rightly resolved to wait for them, his Indians behaved ill, and the rest of the party not well, or he should have taken the six Enemy Indians, instead of killing one Indian, in the firing one of Prideaux's escaped and joyned them, they supposed they wounded two more Indians, our Rangers firing at they knew not what wounded two of their Comrades; a pretty opportunity lost of taking all that Scouting party; the luck of finding the Canoo, waiting for them & attacking them, if it had been well executed, could not have failed of taking the whole and there was no risk.

24<sup>th</sup>. the Party returned from reconnoitring part of the Hudson's river, supposed the Source 12 miles west from Crown point. Cap<sup>t</sup> Johnson returned with his party from Exploring the Otter river, he found eight falls, instead of three as had allways been imagined, and mostly bad ones, the sides of the river very swampy, and by his report a very impassable river for the Enemy to make any inroads into the Country indeed

<sup>1</sup> Captain James Tute of Rogers' Rangers. He was taken prisoner, but returned under a flag of truce. On the 21st March, 1760, he was again made prisoner by the French.

it proves it from their having been so long in possession of it without attempting incursions that way, many people have run away with the notion of this river being the route by which the war would have been best carryed on, who must have been very ignorant of Every part of it.

for the better defence of Crown point and to make the Fortress as formidable as I can, I ordered with the advice of the Engineer three Forts to be erected, which I named by the Grenadier Fort, light Infantry Fort, & Gage's light Infantry Fort, ordering those Corpss to build each their own as fast as possible.

25<sup>th</sup>. Works at the Fortress going on well, sent an Aid de Camp to Tionderoga to examine matters there to hasten Every thing on.

26<sup>th</sup>. Sent Cap<sup>t</sup>. Tute and ten men down the Lake to try to get up the riviere de Sable to explore that river, to lay his whale boats up and proceed by land to Swegatchi, and in case no English Troops are arrived at Swegatchi, to make what discoveries he can & send two or three men to Brigadier Gage at Oswego, a Letter from the L<sup>t</sup> Governor of New York that he had disposed of the french Prisoners 200 in the Jerseys, 200 in Connecticut, 100 in long Island, the remainder in the barracks at New Yorke. the french Lieutenant, a Commissary, one Serjeant & two Privates, who had deserted on the march were taken near Fort Edward, had been lost in the Woods & near starving. I ordered the Lieu<sup>t</sup> close confined

27<sup>th</sup>. the works of the three Forts advancing, four more french Deserters taken near Fort Edward, had been out Sixteen days and allmost perishing, twenty seven of the Drafts from Guadaloupe arrived.

28<sup>th</sup>. it rained in the morning stoped the works a little, I received a Letter from Col: Bradstreet that the supply of provisions at Albany went on well.

29<sup>th</sup>. Sixty four men of a Company, of the Massachusetts Troops, consisting of Eighty men, which I had ordered from



N<sup>o</sup> 4 to Albany went off when they were within six miles of the Town. I received a letter from B<sup>r</sup> General Stanwix of the 14<sup>th</sup> of Aug<sup>r</sup> from Fort Bedford, that Major Tullekens<sup>1</sup> sat out the 5<sup>th</sup> with 300 men for Pittsburgh, from thence to proceed with 400 and Col: Mercer to Joyn him to take post at Venango. that Cap<sup>t</sup> Jocelyne who marched with a Convoy on the 20<sup>th</sup> of July was attacked near laurel hill and after repulsing the Enemy, killing two Indians which they found and they supposed seven or eight more killed, was unfortunately killed, with the loss of three men and six horses on our side. that two men of Col: Montgomery's Reg<sup>t</sup> were taken off from Pittsburgh by some Tawas<sup>2</sup> Indians who had been treated as Friends and been eating their provisions at Pittsburgh, 'tis just like the Scoundrells.

30<sup>th</sup> I sent an Officer to Louisburg, by which opportunity I wrote to M. Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe & Admiral Saunders. the Radeau building, and I am promised the Brigantine shall soon be ready, I then shall be able either to take or force away the Enemy's Vessels on the Lake & to proceed to the other end.

31<sup>st</sup> four Rangers who had been with Serj<sup>t</sup> Hopkins came back with an account that the Serj<sup>t</sup> was attacked & must have been taken.

1<sup>st</sup> Sept. the Serj<sup>t</sup> returned from his Scout & brought in three prisoners of La Marine which he took opposite to the Island their intelligence agrees with what I had before as to the Troops at the Isle au Noix, with this addition only that some Canadians were working at the Batteries & Lines on the Island before the Troops arrived there, they likewise say they have 100 Cannon, I suppose they must have had some from their Ships which got up the River S<sup>t</sup> Laurence this Spring. that the East & West Channels are very narrow, the last picketed across to hinder anything passing. As the account of the Prisoners and the Serjeants report agreed of a new

<sup>1</sup> John Tullikens, Major of the 60th Regiment, April 26, 1757

<sup>2</sup> Tawas, Tawpys = C<sup>t</sup>awas.

Vessel being launched & pierced for 16 Guns, I sent to Cap<sup>t</sup> Loring, that our second intended Vessel may be built if it can be done without retarding the other, as it appears the Enemy is trying all they can to have a superior Force by water. I ordered Major Ord to prepare some combustibles that I may try to burn this new Vessel before she gets out.

2<sup>d</sup>. the first Batt<sup>n</sup> of Ruggles's which is making the road good from Tionderoga encamped three miles from this place, where the Plain begins. a Report from Col: Wellard at the landing place that he had found five Canoos three miles up lake George, this accounts for what some of the Prisoners had told me which indeed I thought they had made, that 80 Indians set out in five Canoos on lake George some days before we arrived at Tionderoga, & they had not heard any thing of them, I suppose on finding themselves cut off they went across the Country & perhaps to Joyn S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup>. Johnson.

3<sup>d</sup>. Cap<sup>t</sup> Loring came. we concluded on building a Sloop for 16 Guns, the Saw Mill being continually out of order retards us much. we had violent rain. the Guns I sent for from Fort Edward for Crown point arrived at the landing place.

4<sup>th</sup>. it did not cease raining the whole day, at night I sent out Serj<sup>t</sup> Hopkins with twelve men, some of the best Swimmers I could find, furnished with fire darts & hand Carcasses to burn the Sloop at the Isle au Noix. a man of L<sup>t</sup> Fletcher's party returned, says some Indians came on him & another who were left with the boat, took the other and he made his escape, at night an Indian came in from the L<sup>t</sup> party, says the Lieu<sup>t</sup> was tracked from his boat, attacked by a great number, that he only escaped, the others killed or taken.

5<sup>th</sup>. I sent out a party to the west side of the Lake. the Officer returned from Oswego from conducting the new hampshire Reg<sup>t</sup> there, marched from Fort Stanwix to Oswego with 100 oxen in five days, so there could be no great difficulty in making a good & sure communication. the french Prisoners

informed several things were hid in the Fort, we dug & found Kettles, Tools & Iron.

6<sup>th</sup> the Captain of the guard boats reported he had seen some of the Enemy's boats in the evening at the narrows which lower'd their sails on seeing him and seemed to go over to the Eastern Shore, as they appeared just at night coming, I ordered the Guards on the batteaus to be particularly watchfull, our Deserters of which they have two from Gage's & one from the Inniskilling who are suspected of having committed a Robbery in Camp, may have flattered him they can burn the boats. I ordered a part out at day break to go down by the East side, to return by the West Shore, that if they have landed any scalping party, I may catch them.

7<sup>th</sup> we had bad weather I directed Major Ord to prepare a number of hand carcasses loaded with Grenades which may be of service if I should have an opportunity at trying to surprise Montreal, I ordered Petards likewise to be prepared.

8<sup>th</sup> it rained the whole day, very bad weather, entirely put a stop to the works, I had a Letter from Colonel Montessor in answer to my Questions about Fort George that he could not finish it this Season, but could shut up the Citadel Bastion by a retrenchment at the Gorge which will then be a small Fort of itself & he then could spare several Artificers to come here as the small Fort & the one already built by the Lake side will be full sufficient as that Post is no longer a Frontier, I could not hesitate about ordering this to be done, & the Fort may at any time hereafter be compleatly finished.

9<sup>th</sup> it rained in the morning turned fair afterwards so that the works went on. the Party returned from N<sup>o</sup>. 4 made the Road 77 miles, but it may be much shortened. fresh Provisions now and then, and a constant supply of Spruce beer keeps the Army in good health and they work well.

10<sup>th</sup> the Captain of the Guard boats sent me some Letters, he had stoped. Cap<sup>t</sup>. d'Isserat of the Reg<sup>t</sup>. de la Reine nine miles off who was very unwilling to part with his dispatches

without delivering them himself at Crown point, contained a Letter from Mons<sup>r</sup> de Montcalm not dated, acquainting me Cap<sup>t</sup> Kennedy & L<sup>t</sup> Hamilton were Prisoners, I answered the Letters & sent an Aid de Camp to sift out in what manner Cap<sup>t</sup> Kennedy was taken whether in going to M. General Wolfe or in returning. I had likewise a Letter from Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bourlemaque, and one from L<sup>t</sup> Fletcher that he was taken with three men between S<sup>t</sup> John's & Montreal having been surrounded by 70 Indians who killed three of his Party, one a Lieut. of the Provincials who chose to go a Volunteer.

11<sup>th</sup>. Captain Kennedy was unluckily taken by some of S<sup>t</sup> Francis Indians who were out a hunting, as he was going to M. General Wolfe. the L<sup>t</sup> Governor of New York wrote me word he had sent me twelve 18 Pounders and eight 12 pounders of the Guns I had requested intending them for Oswego, & La Gallette. I am obliged to bring all the Guns from Fort Edward to this Place, which will do for the present; and as I wrote to Lord Ligonier in the winter to beg some Guns might be sent from England for the Forts, I am in hopes they will arrive.

12<sup>th</sup>. as Captain Kennedy's Journey to & from M. Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe was no longer depending, I ordered a detachment of 220 chosen men under the command of Major Rogers that he may destroy the S<sup>t</sup> Francis Indian Settlements and the french Settlements on the South side the River S<sup>t</sup> Laurence.

13<sup>th</sup>. I sent an Aid de Camp to Tionderoga to try to get any Artificers that can possibly be spared from thence & the landing place; as likewise to quicken up Cap<sup>t</sup> Loring in preparing his Affairs, & to get Sails for such boats as can carry Guns that I may effectually demolish the Enemy's Craft. I ordered a party to explore more of the Hudson's river.

14<sup>th</sup>. the Serjeant with his Party returned from the Isle au Noix, he attempted to burn the Vessell the 11<sup>th</sup>. at ten at night, had got the combustibles to the bow and had near accomplished the design, but I presume made some noise as a

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man on board discovered them & alarmed the Guard & the whole Camp from whence all the Guards fired, but the men got off unhurt, left the combustibles at the bow & two blankets on the shore, if they had more punctually obeyed my orders which were to do it at two in the morning, they probably had succeeded.

15<sup>th</sup>. I had a Letter from the L<sup>d</sup>. Governor of New Yorke in answer to mine demanding that the Troops might be paid for the month of November as I thought His Majesty's Service would require their help, so that they could not return to their homes by the 1<sup>st</sup> of that month. I had made the same application to the other provinces. the L<sup>d</sup>. Governor thinks the Assembly will not grant it.

16<sup>th</sup>. a Lieu<sup>t</sup>. with thirty Masons arrived from Fort George to help on with the works here.

17<sup>th</sup>. it rained the greater part of last night, and a continued rain & Storm all this day put a stop to the works. Captain Smith with his Company which had deserted from Albany came by the new road from N<sup>o</sup>. 4.

18<sup>th</sup>. five men of Cap<sup>t</sup>. Tute's party who went from hence the 26<sup>th</sup>. Aug<sup>t</sup>. returned with a Letter from Cap<sup>t</sup>. Tute of the 12<sup>th</sup>. acquainting me that he could get but 8 miles up the riviere de Sable with his boat, was got 100 miles by land & hoped soon to reach Swegatchi, sent back these Men to meet him at his boat with provisions. At night half the Indians and some men of Major Rogers's party who had fell sick returned with Cap<sup>t</sup>. Williams & an Officer of the Provincials who were very ill. Major Rogers had been obliged to lay by in the Otter River waiting for a dark night or Fog to pass the Enemy's Vessels which were cruising off the River.

19<sup>th</sup>. a man of the R. Highland and one of Montgomery's light Infantry were brought in, wounded by a firelock accidentally going off, and the man of the R. Highlander dyed soon after his arrival. this makes forty men returned of Major Rogers's detachment, but he has men enough left to

Execute the Service he is sent on. I received a Letter from B<sup>r</sup> General Gage (to my great concern) that he had been obliged to give over the thoughts of taking post at la Gallette from the many difficulty's and impossibilities he found there would be in erecting a Post there before winter. the Crank of our Saw Mill broke a second time, unlucky as the Mill ought to supply every plank & board that is wanted, I ordered it to be repaired instantly. I directed the commanding Officers of Regiments to send for flannel Waistcoats, Leggens & Socks for the men, as our Quarters will be more Northerly than they have been and probably we may stay longer in the Field.

20<sup>th</sup>. it rained & blew hard in the night put a stop to the working in the morning, but cleared up afterwards. the Barracks begun in the Fortress. the fences & blockhouses forwarding apace by which all the Cattle are kept secure & it will not be practicable for any small Partys (if they should venture so far up the Lake) to creep in & pick off any men.

21<sup>st</sup>. fine weather, the Provincials begin to grow sick and lose some men, they are growing home sick, tho' I am told much less so than they have been any other Campaign. they are excellent Ax-Men, the works could not be carryed on without them, and the Zeal and Activity of their Colonels is of the greatest assistance in forwarding the works.

22<sup>d</sup>. More rain but did not retard the works.

23<sup>d</sup>. A great deal of rain fell, an Aid de Camp returned from Tionderoga, the Mill will go soon, and Capt. Loring thinks he shall have his Vessels ready in eight days.

24<sup>th</sup>. the Stone Barracks raising fast the materials of all kind very good. received provisions from Tionderoga.

25<sup>th</sup>. Letters from Boston bring an Account of Major General Wolfe having encreased his batteries on Point Levi on the 11<sup>th</sup> of August. I had not yet heard from him, and he may likely be in the same Situation in regard to me, tho' I have taken all the precautions I could in writing by different conveyances that some might arrive safe at hand.

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26<sup>th</sup>. The Lake is risen surprisingly full three feet perpendicular forced us to move the Magazine of Provisions, Shot, Shells &c this may be occasioned by the Pickets the Enemy has fixed across in both Channels by the Isle au Noix.

27<sup>th</sup>. I sent for more provisions that I may be ready to move with all the men that can be spared so soon as the Brig & Sloop can come here.

28<sup>th</sup>. I sent an Aid de Camp to Tionderoga to push on the works which are carrying on there. Provisions arrived, Batteaüs very leaky. Cut timber for the Casemates on the opposite Isthmus.

29<sup>th</sup>. Captain Loring promised to have the Brig & Sloop ready next week. the Radeaü was launched, 84 Feet in length, and 20 Feet in breadth to carry Six 24 pounders.

30<sup>th</sup>. I was forced to condemn a quantity of biscuit spoiled by the wet in the batteaüs. The Crank of the Mill broke again. but one wheel continues to go.

October 1<sup>st</sup>. I sent to load the Brig & Sloop with a proper proportion of as much provision as they could quite conveniently carry without any obstruction to their sailing or fighting their Guns.

2<sup>d</sup>. I received a Letter from Boston with an Account of Prince Ferdinand's Victory on the 1<sup>st</sup> of August. a party returned from exploring South bay, wood creek &

3<sup>d</sup>. a party returned from Exploring the Sources of the Hudson's river. a Lieutenant came in with six men from Major Rogers's party whom he left nine days since forty miles beyond Mischiscoie bay, the L<sup>t</sup> was sent back from an Accident of having lamed himself and to let me know the Major would pursue the Orders I had given him, but thought he might be obliged to return to N<sup>o</sup>. 4.

4. Sent to N<sup>o</sup>. 4 to take some provisions up to Wells's river in case the Detachment should come back that route. ordered a quantity of bread to be baked at Tionderoga.

contrary winds have hindered the floats of timber from getting here, which has kept back the works a little.

5<sup>th</sup>. two of the Blockhouses got up. as the number of sick of the Provincials encreased and several will not be fit for any further service this Campaign I ordered the Surgeons of the Hospital to visit and report them accordingly that the useless may be sent home.

6<sup>th</sup>. Sent a party down the lake to way lay at a Place where a Canoo was found laid near the Shore, the Party returned as it was plain the Canoo must have been left there some weeks since at least.

7<sup>th</sup>. repairing & caulking the whale boats & batteaüs, an Officer and 52 men of Babcocks arrived from Fort George. I sent 400 of the Provincials to the Hospital at Albany to be so far in the way to their homes & to go as soon as they are able.

8<sup>th</sup>. Sent a party of Grenadiers & light Infantry in batteaüs to bring Wooster's Reg<sup>t</sup> & 200 of Willards from Tionderoga, from whence they may now be spared to Joyn the Army at Crown point, that when I go from hence I may leave as many men as I can to continue the works at the Fort and I shall not take any Artificer away, very fine weather and the wind fair for some days if the Brig: & Sloop were ready.

9<sup>th</sup>. Sent two Scouts of a Serjeant & Six men each, one to the East & the other to the West side of the Isle au Noix to get me a prisoner for intelligence, as I shal<sup>l</sup> probably not have any except from thence, & the Serjeants to meet me on the Lake. I likewise sent L<sup>t</sup> Meredith of Gage's with six men to go to the river Chasy which is five or six miles on this side the point au fer to try to find out a carrying place between that river & Chataguay river, that I may be at a certainty how far it is practicable to send a party towards Montreal if occasion should offer. in the night Ensign Hutchings of the Rangers who I had dispatched to M. Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe & arrived there the 4<sup>th</sup> of Sept: Came with Capt. Stobo of the Virginians. they



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quitted M. Genl. Wolfe on the 7<sup>th</sup> of Sept and got out of the river St. Laurence in four days, but unfortunately were taken the 29<sup>th</sup> by a Pirate twelve leagues off Halifax, and had thrown all their dispatches over board, and the Pirate stript them of every thing else, put them on board a Schooner with some more Men he had taken gave them one days provisions & they got to Halifax in three, from thence they came by Boston here, the Pirate had fifty men & four Swivels, was fitted out from Miramichi & had taken four Vessels.

10<sup>th</sup> the Duke of Cumberland brigantine arrived & anchored out of sight of any partys that may be on the look out upon the Hills, she has six 6 pounders, twelve 4 pound<sup>r</sup> & twenty Swivels, 70 Seamen & 60 Marines detached from the Troops & I have put two Lieu<sup>t</sup> on board besides the Officer of Marines on this occasion. Cap<sup>t</sup> Loring tells me the Sloop will be here to morrow, I have every thing ready to set out so soon as she comes. in the Afternoon Letters arrived from England by a Packet.

11<sup>th</sup> the Boscawen Sloop arrived she has four 6 pounders, twelve 4 pounders & twenty two Swivels, 60 Seamen & 50 Marines with Lieu<sup>t</sup> Grant of Montgomery's to command her, and an Officer of Marines. I ordered the Ammunition & Stores that were wanted in the Sloop to be put on board & the Troops to strike their Tents & load their batteaus that I may proceed directly as it is fine weather & a fair wind. I called the commanding officers of the Provincial Reg<sup>t</sup> together to recommend to them the pursuing the works under the direction of L<sup>ieut</sup> Col: Eyre Engineer, whom I am forced to leave for that purpose, with all the help they can possibly give him & I left the command of the Troops to Colonel Ruggles with orders accordingly, & 300 men of the Regulars to give the daily guards.

I gave orders to Cap<sup>t</sup> Loring, sent Cap<sup>t</sup> Abercrombie, one of my Aides de Camp to remain on board. the Sloop & Brig: got out about 4 o'Clock sailed with a fair wind & the Troops

followed in four Columns with a light hoisted in the night on board the Radeau

12<sup>th</sup>. at day break heard some Guns, Major Gladwin of Gages sent me word he saw the Vessels engaged but soon after found his mistake, & Major Reid returning with some batteaus of the R. Highland Reg<sup>t</sup> reported the Sloops had fired on him, he had lost the Columns in the night, followed the light of the Brig for the Radeau & at day break found himself amongst the Enemy's Sloops at les Isles au quatre Vent, they fired several Guns & I suppose struck one batteau as they took one with Lt M Koy one Serjeant one Corporal & Eighteen men. soon after I saw the Enemy's Sloops make all the sail they could. towards night bad weather came on & I ordered the Troops into a bay on the western shore to be covered from the wind which begun to blow hard. sent the men on shore to boil the Pots & rest themselves by walking about. I ordered the Rangers on an Island and Gages advanced on the Shore.

13<sup>th</sup>. it blew a storm and quite contrary wind, continued so all day.

14<sup>th</sup> I had Letters from Cap<sup>t</sup> Loring & Cap<sup>t</sup> Abercrombie that on the 12<sup>th</sup> at day break when they judged they were 45 miles down the Lake they saw the Schooner gave chase & unfortunately ran the Brig & Sloop aground, but both got off again & then saw the Enemy's Sloops, which they had passed in the night, between them and the Army & chaced to bring them to action, drove them into a bay on the western shore & anchored so as to prevent their getting away, the next day sent into the bay in search of them & found they had sunk two of them in five fathom water & run the third on Ground & that the Crews were Escaped, that he had ordered Cap<sup>t</sup> Grant with the Sloop to try to save the Vessel with the Stores, Guns & Rigging & that he would go to his station & hoped to get between the Schooner and I. No<sup>t</sup> the men who brought me the Letter said Cap<sup>t</sup> Loring was about thirty

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mi. off & that it was impossible for a boat to go back while the wind continued.

15<sup>th</sup>. it has blown a Storm with rain all night, the continuance of it this day makes the lake impassable for boats, the waves run like the Sea in a Gale of Wind, I hope it will soon change as I have no time to lose.

16<sup>th</sup>. it froze in the night and this morning no change of weather. I remained in the same place where the Batteaux were very luckily covered from the wind.

17<sup>th</sup>. the same contrary wind continued, in the afternoon two whale boats which I had dispatched to Cap<sup>t</sup>. Loring on the 13<sup>th</sup>. came back, the crews said they had been trying since that day all they could to get down, but could not & were forced to return.

18<sup>th</sup>. the wind came to the Southward, I proceeded down the Lake to the place where the french Sloops are, one is so far repaired that she is sailed this day with the Brigantine & Sloop, I detached 200 men in the whale boats to try to assist Cap<sup>t</sup>. Loring in looking for the Schooner, a boat arrived from Crown point with a Letter from L<sup>t</sup>. Governor De Lancey, acquainting me he had received a Letter from B<sup>t</sup>. General Whitmore, that Quebec had surrendered the 18<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup>.

19<sup>th</sup>. the wind northerly & contrary & an appearance of winter set in determined me not to lose time on the Lake by striving to get to the Isle au Noix, where I should arrive too late in the Season to force the Enemy from their fixed Post, but to return to Crown point to compleat the works there as much as possible before the Troops go into their Winter Quarters, & I returned with the Troops to the same bay I came from.

20<sup>th</sup>. I pursued my Route & got within 12 miles of Crown point, lay the night on the Eastern shore, sent the light Infantry & Grenadiers who were in whale boats on to Crown point, left the Rangers with the Radeau & boats with Guns which could not come on so fast.

for that time, how great  
had in this successful

the Honour to be

with a truest respect.

Yours Obedt. Humble

Geo. F. Washburn.

Camp of Pointe du Lac  
Sept 15 1859

1859

Camp at Pointe à la Poudre  
Sept. 15-1939

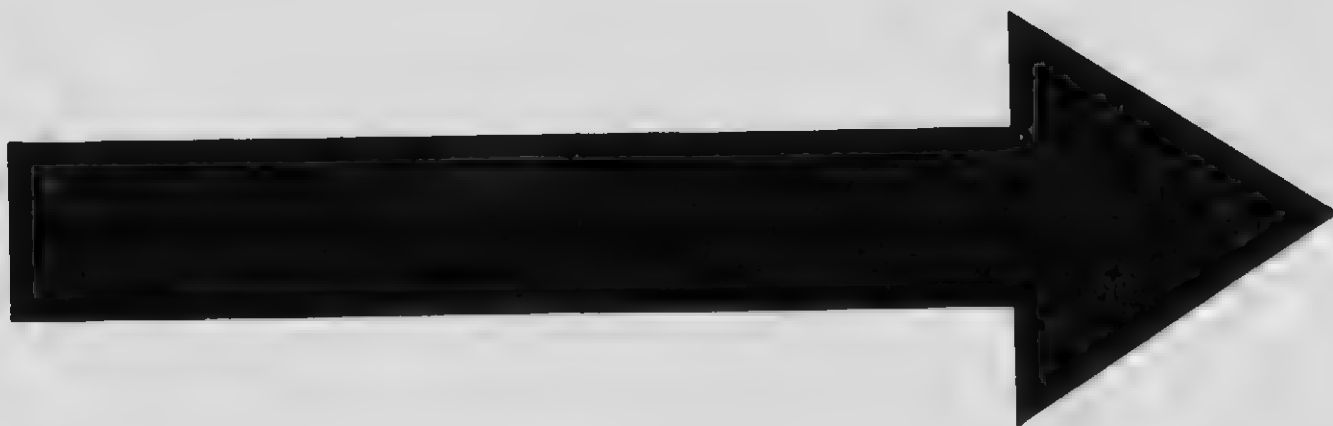
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has been, to acknowledge for that time, how great  
a share of glory has had in this successful  
campaign I have the honor to be

Yours with a true respect,  
Yours most obed<sup>t</sup>. humble  
serv<sup>t</sup>.

Geo: Simonds.

Camp de la Roche. Quebec -  
Sep<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1759







21<sup>st</sup> set out again in the morning and arrived at Crown point at 2 o'Clock.

22<sup>nd</sup>. I enclose to you, Sir, plans of the Fortress & dependant Forts at this place with a Survey of the Ground and Lake about them. they will not be so compleatly finished as I intended they should be but I think I may assure you that they will be so respectable, that the Enemy can do nothing against them, if the Enemy attempts it.

Some of the Places where Posts have been established are subjected by custom to a rent being paid to the supposed Proprietor, tho' the whole Country about them would have been abandoned if Posts had not been erected there; to avoid this Expence, or any future dispute, I have thought it for the benefit of His Majesty's Service to fix a boundary at first, to each Fort, which I hope will have your approbation, as it appears to me, it will be of great use to the Garrison, a saving to the Public and is necessary to the defence of the Place.

The Repairs at Tionderoga are finished but the Engineers have been so employed, I have not as yet a Plan & Survey of the Place or I should send it to you.

the building the Vessels has been a tedious affair, they have now tho' late, the entire dominion of the Lake, & I imagine Captain Loring will weigh up the two Sloops which are sunk; I have directed him to do as he Judges best.

I shall continue the works here so long as I possibly can, and shall then try to dispose of His Majesty's Troops in such Quarters that they may effectually protect this Country from any inroads of the Enemy, & I shall not neglect to have a due regard to the care and preservation of the health of the men.

I enclose to you, Sir, such papers as I judge can any wise tend towards giving you a full information of every thing that relates to His Majesty's Service where I have the honour to command, and I beg leave to repeat my assurances, that I

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shall continue my utmost Endeavours to execute every part that may depend on me to the best of my capacity.

I am with the utmost Respect

Sir,

Your most Humble  
and most obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST.

R<sup>t</sup>. Honb<sup>le</sup>.

M<sup>r</sup> PITT

Indorsed. Camp at Crown Point

Oct<sup>r</sup>. 22<sup>nd</sup>. 1759.

Maj<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. AMHERST.

R. Nov<sup>r</sup>. 24<sup>th</sup>.

PART VI.—*Major-General Jeffery Amherst's Journal from October 23 to December 11, 1759 (Amherst to Pitt, December 11, 1759; Public Record Office, C.O. 5: 57, formerly A. & W. I. 92. 1).*

New York

December 16<sup>th</sup>.

1759.

Sir,

The last letter I did myself the honour of writing to you, was from Crown Point of the 22<sup>d</sup> of October, since which, though nothing very material has happened, I shall take the liberty of continuing my journal, to give you as clear an intelligence as I can, of every thing that has passed.

On the 23<sup>d</sup>. I sent an Aid de Camp to B<sup>r</sup>. General Gage at Oswego, with orders for quartering the Troops on that side this winter. Letters from Boston brought an Account, that Admiral Boscawen had gained a Victory at Sea, and destroyed the greatest part of the French Fleet. five men of the two Serjeant's party's which I had sent out on the 9<sup>th</sup>. came in, as

the weather had been so bad, they could not get down the Lake. the Radeau and other boats with Rangers arrived, Captain Dalyel, whom I had detached on the 18<sup>th</sup> with 200 Men in whale boats, returned in the Evening; he had got to the Brigantine & Sloops at the Isle la Motte, and reconnoitred to the Isle au Noix, where the Enemy's Schooner was arrived by going round the Grande Isle: on his return, he picked up a man, on the Shore, of the Crew of the Masguenonguy, who had lost the party & himself. at night the two Serjeants came in, half starved, reporting the winds had been so high and Lake so rough, the men gave out, and they could not reach the Isle au Noix. bad weather stoped the works this day.

24<sup>th</sup>. the works of the Fortress and Fort had been much retarded, by the absence of the regular Troops; I set all to work that were able, that I may do as much as possible, while the Season permits, a Captain of Montgomery's arrived, with fifty two Men from Pittsburg; he had left thirty two sick on the route.

25<sup>th</sup>. I sent away some sick to Fort Edward & Albany: a Captain of Rangers, who I ordered out with 100 Men to secure Major Rogers's boats returned, and reported them burnt by the Enemy

26. I detached 250 men with proper tools, under the command of Major Hawke, to compleat the Road to N<sup>o</sup>. 4 that the Provincial Troops may take the Shortest Route to return to their homes, & it will much lessen the expences of their march. Capt. Loring arrived with the Brigantine, Sloop, and French Prize Sloop; & reporting to me, that he thought the two other Sloops might be weighed up, with proper help, I ordered it accordingly to be prepared. I detached Lieut: Maine and nine men of the royal Artillery to South Carolina, to instruct the men there, in the exercise of their Guns.

27<sup>th</sup>. L<sup>ts</sup>. Grant & Robertson sailed with the two Sloops, & 200 men, and all necessaries for weighing the french Sloops

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up. Sent Capt. Loring to Tionderoga, with the Brig: to prepare a proper place for the Vessels during the winter, & repair boats for the passage of the Troops over Lake George. Ordered an Artillery Officer & Artificers to Tionderoga to examine the Guns, to put the Carriages, Platforms &c. in the best order.

28<sup>th</sup>. I sent the remains of the Indians, by Albany, to their homes, to save, at present, an unnecessary expence to the Publick, and Provisions for the Troops. got the timber to the Fortress, by drawing it with men, which expedited it much better than with the Cattle, that were likewise employed at the same time in different places.

29<sup>th</sup>. I had a Letter, last night, from Niagara, acquainting me of the death of L<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Farquhar, and I had likewise one from B<sup>t</sup>. General Stanwix, by which I see he has given over all thoughts of relieving the garrison of Niagara, from the many difficulties that would attend it, I immediately sent L<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Eyre there, as I thought it the best thing I could do, for effectually securing that place.

30<sup>th</sup>. very cold weather and frost, I relieved the detachments of Provincials at Fort Edward, and the Posts on the Communication that they may joyn their Regiments and go home by N<sup>o</sup>. 4.

31<sup>st</sup>. as the weather began to be severely cold, I gave rum to each working man every day, which now became very necessary, and I ordered the works to be closed in the best and most expeditious manner that time will permit.

1<sup>st</sup>. Nov<sup>r</sup>. some of the Jersey and Massachusetts Troops mutinyed and would go home, I turned out five Picquets of the Regulars, which soon settled that matter, and they returned quietly to their work.

2<sup>d</sup>. an Officer came in, from where the Vessels are weighing up, to acquaint me a Flag of truce was coming; Capt. Cadillac of Reg<sup>t</sup>. de Berry, who brought me a Letter of the 28<sup>th</sup>. of Oct. from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and one from

Mons<sup>r</sup>. Bourlemaque from the Isle au Noix. Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Vaudreuil proposed an Exchange of Prisoners, which is what, I had demanded of the Marquis de Montcalm. I received a Letter from L<sup>t</sup>. Meredith<sup>1</sup> of Gage's, whom I had sent out on the 9<sup>th</sup>. of Oct<sup>r</sup>. that he was taken on the 16<sup>th</sup>. as he was returning, on the Lake, to the Army. Mons<sup>r</sup>. Cadillac said Major Rogers's Party had killed some Indians & burnt the Settlement of S<sup>t</sup>. Francis, but that he had been attacked in his retreat.

3<sup>d</sup>. I sent the flag of truce away with my answers and an escort.

4<sup>th</sup>. Ordered all the sick away from the Battalions at Tionderoga

5<sup>th</sup>. I sent away some Artillery, Ammunition & Stores allotted for Fort George & Fort Edward

6<sup>th</sup>. the Weather favoured us for the works, considering the time of year. an Officer, with the greatest part of Wellard's Reg<sup>t</sup>. having deserted from the landing place, set every thing at a stand there, I immediately replaced them, with a detachment from the Regulars.

7<sup>th</sup>. Frost & Snow, but the works were carryed on. Capt. Ogden, of Schuylers Reg<sup>t</sup>. brought me a Letter from Major Roger's of the 1<sup>st</sup>. Nov<sup>r</sup>. from N<sup>o</sup>. 4, acquainting me, that on the 22<sup>d</sup>. day, after his departure from Crown Point, he got to the Village of S<sup>t</sup>. Francis, reconnoitred it, attacked it next morning before sun rise, on the Right, Left, & Center, found all asleep, killed 200, took 20 women and children, fifteen of which he afterwards let go, brought away two Indian boys & three girls, and retook five English Prisoners; some of the Indians trying to make their escapes from their houses, and to get off in their Canoes, were pursued by forty men of his party, & were most of them shot or drowned; about seven, the affair was over, and he burnt the Church and all the Houses, with a Priest and some others

<sup>1</sup> Hugh Meredith, Lieutenant 80th Regiment, July 16, 1758.

who had hid themselves & suffered in the Flames: Capt. Ogden and six men were Slightly wounded, one Stockbridge Indian killed; Major Rogers then determined to return by N<sup>o</sup>. 4, marched the whole body together 8 days, and then separated in small bodys, leaving a Guide to each; one of his Partys was attacked two days after they separated, had seven men taken, but two got off in the night, and he arrived, with Capt. Ogden & one man, on the 31<sup>st</sup> at N<sup>o</sup>. 4. in the afternoon, an Indian came in, and in several hours after he had been in Camp, Indian like, said he had left sixteen of M. Rogers's party at the Otter River. I immediately sent away an Officer & party of Rangers in whale boats for them.

8<sup>th</sup>. the party of Rangers brought in four Indians, two Rangers a German woman, who had been taken at the German flats, two young Squaws, and an Indian boy, they were loaded with Wampum & Trinkets that they had taken at S<sup>t</sup>. Francis: it was from this nest of Barbarians, which is now at an end, that scalping Partys have frequently done mischief in the Newhampshire and Massachusetts Provinces.

9<sup>th</sup>. I sent away all the baggage of the Provincials, by Albany. Capt Lee of Gen. Abercromby's Reg<sup>t</sup> arrived from Pittsburg, he was sent there from Niagara, and brought me a Letter from B<sup>t</sup>. General Stanwix of the 10<sup>th</sup>. of Oct. with the unanimous opinion, of a Council of War, that it is & has been utterly impossible for B<sup>t</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Stanwix to relieve the Garrison of Niagara, with four or five hundred men.

10<sup>th</sup>. The Troops worked till three O'clock, excepting the Grenadiers, who were under Arms at one O'clock, and fired Volleys. at Gun firing, the Army was under Arms, & fired a Feu de Joye, the three Forts firing 21 Cannon, and the Battalions volleys. The Fortress 21 Cannon, the Army a running fire. the Park of Artillery 21 Cannon, the Army a general Volley, ending with three Huzzas & rum and Spruce beer given to every man in the Army.

L<sup>t</sup>. Grant reported to me, he had got one of the Sloops

up, and baled the water out, he had had an attack on a party on shore who were cutting wood & were fired on by some Indians, (probably from the report of the flag of truce sent from the Isle au Noix to view what was doing) a man of the Royal was killed and scalped, four were wounded, and the Indians got off unpunished. I received a memorial from the Massachusetts & Connecticut Colonels, desiring to settle, by way of Township, the new made road to N<sup>o</sup> 4, if His Majesty would be graciously pleased, to make them grants of the said Lands. I likewise received a Memorial from Major of Brigade Skeene, desiring a patent for a tract of Land between South bay, East bay & the garrison land of Fort Edward. in my last Letter Sir, I acquainted you of the Zeal and activity the Provincial Colonels have shewn for the good of the King's Service, and I must do justice to Major Skeene in saying I know no man in his Post, more deserving than he is.

11<sup>th</sup>. I ordered the Payments to be made to the Artificers, that the whole may be cleared before they march. Sold the working Cattle by Auction.

12<sup>th</sup>. the Rhode Island Reg<sup>t</sup> marched this morning, crossed the Lake & took five days provisions to Supply them to N<sup>o</sup> 4.

13<sup>th</sup>. Col<sup>o</sup>. Worcesters Reg<sup>t</sup> of the Connecticut Troops, marched, following the Rhode Island Reg<sup>t</sup>. I sent L<sup>t</sup>. Col Robertson to the Landing place to forward the Provisions, that I may leave this Garrison & Tionderoga well supplied.

14<sup>th</sup>. Col Whiting's Reg<sup>t</sup> marched the same Route as Worcesters

15<sup>th</sup>. in the night past, Major Grant arrived with a Letter from the M. de Vaudreuil, had left the English Prisoners near the Otter River, I sent an Aid d<sup>e</sup> Camp, and a Company of Light Infantry to guard the Escort, which was of two Lieut<sup>s</sup> & 40 Canadians, at a proper distance from Camp, & to send the Prisoners in; they were, Major Grant, Capts. Kennedy, Pringle, & M<sup>c</sup>Kenzie, Lieut<sup>s</sup>. Hamilton, Roche, Merecith,

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Downing, Jenkins, & M'koy. Major Lewis of the Virginia Troops, Ensign Hollar of the Pensilvanians, Capt. Tute, L<sup>t</sup>. Stone, Dickson & Fletcher of the Rangers, two Midshipmen, a Master of a Merchant man, 270 Prisoners women & children included. I received Letters from Brig<sup>de</sup> Generals Monckton & Townshend with the particulars of taking Quebec, & from Admiral Saunders, acquainting me he should leave Lord Colvill with the command of His Majesty's Ships of War at Halifax.

16<sup>th</sup>. I wrote to the Marqu<sup>is</sup> de Vaudreuil, & sent back the party that had escorted our Prisoners. the three french Sloops were brought in this morning, by L<sup>t</sup>. Grant, with their Rigging & Guns, except two brass 12 pounders, that Mons<sup>ie</sup>ur de L'oberatz threw over board, while L<sup>t</sup>. M'Koy was there.

17<sup>th</sup>. the Jersey Troops marched, to pass Lake George, and proceed, by Albany, to their homes. I sent the Inhabitants away who had returned with the Prisoners. Oruered the Sloops to Tionderoga to be laid up for the winter.

18<sup>th</sup>. An Officer returned who I had sent with money to N<sup>o</sup> 4 for paying the fourpences to the Provincials. Major Hawkes party had been in a little too much hurry, when once they get home in their heads, 'tis difficult to stop them, and they are too apt to leave and neglect their Sick.

19<sup>th</sup>. I wrote to Governor Pownall to thank him for his care in providing for the Massachusett Troops, that they may remain the Winter at Halifax & the bay of Funda &c., as there will be no Troops to relieve them.

20<sup>th</sup>. by a Letter from B<sup>r</sup> General Gage, he arrived at Albany on the 16<sup>th</sup>, & all the Troops were in their Winter Quarters.

21<sup>st</sup>. the Weather very severe, but the works will be soon finished. I had a Letter from Major Rogers, that he had as yet got only 51 of his party at N<sup>o</sup> 4. L<sup>t</sup>. Dunbar of Gages, was attacked two days after they Separated, by a party that pursued, the Lieut. was supposed to be killed, with L<sup>t</sup>. Turner



of the Indians, who was his Guide, and ten men of Gages; eight men of his party made their Escapes.

22<sup>d</sup>. Stormy Weather, and it froze hard, I reviewed the Rangers that I might keep only such as were good & would engage to serve to the later end of next Campaign, if required.

23<sup>d</sup>. I reduced the Six Companys of Rangers to two Companys, keeping the Officers in pay, until further Orders, that they may recruit their Companys on the first notice; I have likewise entirely reduced the three Companys at Boston, which returned from Quebec.

24<sup>th</sup> it froze hard & snowed, I prepared all necessary Orders for the commanding Officers of the several Posts, that the whole may be ready to reinforce the advanced Posts on any motions of the Enemy: though it is hardly possible the Enemy should attempt any, ordered Col. Fitch's Reg<sup>t</sup> which is the last Provincial one here, to cross the Lake & march to morrow.

25<sup>th</sup>. I decamped the whole. left the Inniskilling Reg<sup>t</sup> & 200 Rangers, for the Garrison of Crown Point; sent the discharged Rangers home by N<sup>o</sup>. 4, and some by Albany; arrived at Tionderoga, where I left Six Companys of late Forbes's Reg<sup>t</sup> for Garrison, and L<sup>t</sup>. Robertson, with charge of the Vessels. Col Lyman's Reg<sup>t</sup> & the remainder of Willard's passed the Lake to march by N<sup>o</sup>. 4. it was night before the Troops arrived at the Saw-mill, landed and made good fires, in the night, a deep snow fell.

26<sup>th</sup>. I sent forward the light Infantry & Grenadiers, to Fort Edward, to help secure the bridge from the Ice; ordered the Reg<sup>t</sup> to cross the Lake, independantly of each other, as the weather was so thick and bad, to keep to the western shore, and land and make fires when necessary. most of them stoped at Sabbath day point.

27<sup>th</sup>. Capt. Morris, of late Prideaux's, was unfortunately killed, by the fall of a tree at Sabbath day point, which they had set fire to at bottom; the tree fell, & crushed him to

death. the Regiment's arrived in the afternoon at Fort George, marched into the woods & made large fires.

28<sup>th</sup>. The Troops marched at day break, except the four remaining Companys of late Forbes's which Garrison Fort George. one company of the R: Highlanders marched into half way brook, five Companys to Fort Edward, the Troops crossed the bridge and lay in the woods below Fort Edward.

29<sup>th</sup>. I marched at day break, met the French Prisoners, whom I had ordered up to send in exchange, they all dislike the march at this season & the major part of them, I believe would be glad to get off returning to Canada, the Troops lay in the woods three miles below Saratoga this night.

30<sup>th</sup>. I marched at daybreak went four miles below Stillwater.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>. Marched at daybreak passed Loudun's Ferry, Gage's Reg<sup>t</sup> lay in the woods on the Road to Schenectady to which place they march tomorrow. the Royal, late Prideaux's & Montgomery's marched five miles beyond the Ferry during this march the weather was severe, but the Troops by laying in warm parts of the woods, making good fires, boiling their pots, and not attempting to pitch any tents, performed the march very well.

2<sup>nd</sup>. I marched at day break and arrived at ten O'clock at Albany the Royal & late Prideaux's were immediately embarked on board the Sloops. I met Sr W<sup>m</sup>. Johnson whom I had sent an Aid de Camp to, for that purpose. the wind would not permit the Sloops to Sail, the weather severely cold & the River began to freeze.

3<sup>d</sup>. the River full of Ice. a man of the Royal one of late Prideaux's and a negro were froze to death last night, and three of the discharged Rangers who had got a batteau in hopes, I suppose, to get down the river were caught by the Ice & found froze to death in the batteau, and several men frost bitten.

4<sup>th</sup>. the frost continuing I ordered the Regiments to disembark and march, the Royal down the west side, late

Prideaux's down the East side, as the River may not open 'till Spring.

5<sup>th</sup> I crossed the River & went out on foot for New York where I arrived the 11<sup>th</sup> in the morning and received the honour of your Letter of the 29<sup>th</sup> of September by the Gen. Wall packet boat, which arrived the 10<sup>th</sup> at night. I have acquainted the Officers & Soldiers of His Majesty's entire approbation of their Zeal and Spirit, which can't but make them, as it does me, very happy.

I must beg, Sir, you will put me at the King's Feet, with my most humble acknowledgments of the distinguishing mark His Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer on me of his Royal favour in appointing me to be Governour of Virginia: my Endeavours shall be to prove myself as deserving as I can by a most devoted duty in doing every thing, as far as I am able, for the Honour and Success of His Majesty's Arms and the Publick Good.

Though I have not yet received any commands, in regard to the ensuing Campaign, I have judged it right to make nearly the same previous application to the several Governours as I did last year, and I think there will not be any difficulty in raising the like number of men.

As Major Grant was, while Prisoner, very conversant with many of the french Officers, I desired him to put in writing the condition he thought the Country in, and I find by him the greatest distress can hardly induce the M. de Vaudreuil to capitulate for the Country, as Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bouquainville brought him positive Orders to defend it to the last Spot remaining; but, notwithstanding that, if, I may presume, Sir, to offer you my Opinion, from the present Posts His Majesty's Army is now in possession of, if no stroke was to be made, Canada must fall, or the Inhabitants starve, or if it shall be judged proper to make short work of it and subdue the whole Country, it appears to me, the same force which acted this Campaign may effectually do it, so soon as the season will permit military Operations to be carryed on.

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The Enemy will keep small Posts, at the Isle au Noix, below Lake Champlain; and at the Isle au Galot, below Lake Ontario & Swegatchi, bu. His Majestys Vessels have the entire Command of both Lakes.

I have left B<sup>r</sup>. General Gage to command at Albany. B<sup>r</sup>. General Monckton is here with several of the wounded Officers from the River St<sup>t</sup>. Lawrence.

I send this by Captain Abercrombie my Aid de Camp who is one of the Officers summoned to attend a General Court Martial in England, the others will follow in a few days in His Majestys ship Fowy that convoys the Transports with the discharged men.

I enclose all papers that I think can any wise serve in giving you full Information of the State of things here.

I am with the Utmost Respect.

Sir,

Your most Humble and  
most Obedient Servant

JEFF. AMHERST.

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. PITT.

Endorsed :—New York

Dec<sup>r</sup>. 16, 1759.

Maj<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. AMHERST.

R. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 24<sup>th</sup>. by

Capt. ABERCROMBY.

PART VII.—*Amherst's Journal from May 20 to June 21, 1760*  
(*Amherst to Pitt, June 21, 1760: Public Record Office,*  
*C. O. 5: 58, formerly A. & W. I. 93-2).*

Schenectady June 21<sup>st</sup>. 1760.

Sir,

Since my last Letter to you of the 19<sup>th</sup> May, wherein I acquainted you of the Affair that had happened at

Quebec, and the measures I had taken thereon, I have been trying to forward everything to the utmost of my power, to begin the Operations of the Campaign.

The Sloth of the Colonies in raising their Troops, and sending them to their Rendezvous, made it impracticable for me to move the Troops on, so soon as I could have wished, and all I could do, was sending Partys to the other end of Lake Champlain, keeping the Enemy in a constant Alarm, which has been Executed with Success.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> May two Companys of Massachusett Troops arrived. I sent men to the several Posts to keep up the Communication, for forwarding Provisions. all the men I had of the New York Troops, I sent with Artillery Stores to Fort Stanwix. Capt M<sup>c</sup>Cartny arrived from Quebec by Boston.

21<sup>st</sup> I gave Cap<sup>t</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Cartny orders to return to Boston, and to Convoy the Transports from thence to Louisbourg, to proceed with the Troops to Quebec, I sent Cap<sup>t</sup> Debbeig Engineer to Quebec, as he knows that part of the Country, and may be wanted as Major M<sup>c</sup>Keller is wounded. I made a little change in the Disposition of the Troops for the Campaign, by putting the four Companys of the Royal to the Corps, that is to act by Crown Point, these Companys with the four Independent Companys marched this day, and I ordered Monckton's Reg<sup>t</sup> to advance to Crown Point, Oughton's marched to Schenectady from whence Gages go to Oswego, and two Companys of Murray's from Schenectady to Fort Stanwix the whole taking up Provisions with them.

22<sup>d</sup> two Sloops of the Rhode Islanders, and a Sloop with New York Troops arrived, sent the first to Half-moon and the last to Schenectady, to forward Provisions, encamped two Companys of the Massachusett's, the first of the Provincials that have encamped.

23<sup>d</sup> more Rhode Island and Massachusett Troops arrived.

24<sup>th</sup> sent Batteaüs and Provisions up the River.

25<sup>th</sup> five hundred of the New York and Rhode Island Troops arrived. Sent Batteaüs and Provisions to Loudoun's Ferry, the Men to take the boats over the Carrying Place, and to proceed to Schenectady.

26<sup>th</sup> received a Letter from Oswego, that three men out a fishing, were taken Prisoners, by a party of Indians, and sent to Oswegatchi. Some New York and New Jersey Troops arrived.

27<sup>th</sup> As the Massachusett Troops arrived I sent them by small Party's forward to Crown Point.

28<sup>th</sup> received a Letter from B<sup>r</sup> Monckton, that sending boats to Presque Isle, as I proposed, would take off all the difficultys he had to Encounter with, two Prisoners who escaped from Montreal reported that the French had raised the Siege of Quebec, and were retiring from thence with great losses.

29<sup>th</sup> having now a Sufficient number of men to man the Whaleboats, I sent off Sixty for Oswego, Niagara, and Presque Isle, to bring the Relief of the Garrison of Niagara.

30<sup>th</sup> Sent five Companys of Montgomerys to the little falls on the Mohawk River, to encamp there, and to relieve the Companys of Murrays in the Posts, that the Regiment might encamp at Fort Stanwix.

31<sup>st</sup>. Some of the Connecticut Troops arrived.

June 1<sup>st</sup> Sent all the Massachusett and Rhode Island Troops that were arrived to Crown Point, leaving a detachment at Tionderoga, and Fort George, that they may do some good in working at these Posts till the remainder of the Provincials arrives, and that I can proceed from hence, and that the Troops may afterwards set out from Crown Point and Oswego, nearly at the same time.

Letters from England arrived by the Gen<sup>l</sup> Wall Packet, which came to New York on 29<sup>th</sup> May.

2<sup>nd</sup>. Some of the New Jersey Troops arrived.

3<sup>rd</sup>. Part of the Connecticut, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts Troops arrived.

4<sup>th</sup>. An Officer arrived from Louisbourg, with a Letter from Governor Whitmore enclosing, Sir, some triplicates and Quadruplicates of dispatches from you, of which I have before acknowledged the Receipt of the Originals, there was likewise a Letter for Governor Whitmore which I transmitted to him, these dispatches came to Louisbourg in the Fame Man of War.

5<sup>th</sup>. L<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Robertson and Captain Stobo arrived, some more Connecticut Troops came in this day.

6<sup>th</sup>. A continuance of rainy bad weather for some days, has made the Roads bad, which I ordered to be repaired.

7<sup>th</sup>. Part of the Connecticut Troops arrived.

8<sup>th</sup>. Sent more Troops forward to Crown Point.

9<sup>th</sup>. Ordered a detachment of the New York Troops to Oswego, forwarded the Artillery and hospital Stores both ways.

10<sup>th</sup>. received an Account from Major Rogers, that on the 3<sup>d</sup>. he landed some men in Mischiscou bay on the East Side of the Lake, sent three men across the Country with a Letter from me to Governor Murray, and on the 4<sup>th</sup>. he landed himself with 200 men on the West side, that on the 6<sup>th</sup>. he engaged a Party of about 300 of the Enemy, within eight miles of the Isle au Noix, and beat them, but could not pursue them, he imagines he killed about fifty, but took only three Indian Scalps. On our side Capt Johnston of the Rangers was badly wounded and afterwards dyed, and Ensign Wood of Monckton's with seven men of the light Infantry of that Regiment and three Rangers were killed, and nine men wounded. this will alarm the Enemy greatly as they will take it to be the Advanced Party of the Army from Crown Point.

11<sup>th</sup>. Sent more New York Troops forward, received a Letter from S<sup>r</sup>. W<sup>m</sup>. Johnson with Indian Intelligence that the French were returned from Quebec. Major Christie D.Q.M. General arrived from Boston having executed his Commission very well, the Transports sailed from thence on the 8<sup>th</sup>.

12<sup>th</sup>. Colonel Worcester of the Connecticut Troops arrived, said he feared their Quota which ought to be five thousand, would want two thousand of being compleat. this is owing to the Rumours of Peace, and I am apprehensive the Massachusetts will be very incomplete for the same reason.

13<sup>th</sup>. Employed the Troops as much as possible in forwarding every thing, that no time may be lost. Sent Colonel Haviland his Instructions with orders to Command the Troops, that are to assemble at Crown Point.

14<sup>th</sup>. Some of the Rhode Island Reg<sup>t</sup> marched to Crown Point.

15<sup>th</sup>. Some Companys of the Jersey and Connecticut Troops arrived.

16<sup>th</sup>. the 1<sup>st</sup>. Royal Highland Battalion marched down the Hudson's River and encamped at half-Moon.

17<sup>th</sup>. Some more Connecticut Troops arrived, sent batteaus and Whaleboats from Albany.

18<sup>th</sup>. received a Letter from L<sup>t</sup>. Governor Bull with a Letter from Colonel Montgomery of 24<sup>th</sup>. May at Fort 96, he intended to march forward very soon to Fort Prince George.

19<sup>th</sup>. I set out for Schenectady, left B<sup>t</sup>. General Gage to compleat the Troops as they arrive, and to hasten every thing on, and to bring up the rear of the whole with the Second Royal Highland Battalion, this day the First Royal Highland Battalion marched into Schenectady, and Oughton's<sup>1</sup> set out for Oswego. A small Party of the Enemy's Indians has scalped one man and taken two Prisoners on the Upper part of the Mohawk River.

20<sup>th</sup>. Everything going on very well, nothing but the late arrival of the Troops, hinders their being assembled at Crown Point and Oswego, so soon as I could wish.

21<sup>st</sup>. At three o'clock this morning Lieutenants Sheriffe and Goddard of Lascelle's Reg<sup>t</sup> arrived here from Montreal with Letters from Monsieur Le Marquis de Vaudreuil, and

<sup>1</sup> James Adolphus Oughton, Colonel of the 55th Regiment, July 20, 1759.



Monsieur de Levis, they left Montreal the 14<sup>th</sup>. June, and say the French abandoned the Siege of Quebec on the 18<sup>th</sup>. May, leaving all their Cannon behind, except the Field Pieces which they took on the 28<sup>th</sup>. Aprill, which they sent to Montreal, and that they retreated in a very great hurry. this has thrown the whole Colony into the utmost despair and will undoubtedly greatly facilitate the Operations of the Campaign, which I shall try to carry on to the best of my Abilities, and I do not in the least doubt but we shall have Success.

Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil has sent most of the Officers and Men, who were taken Prisoners on the 28<sup>th</sup>. Aprill, making in the whole ten Officers and one hundred and thirteen Men to be exchanged.

I sent you, Sir, a Copy of the Letters and my Answers, as likewise a List of the Prisoners who are returned, and as there are two Packet boats at New York, though I doubt not but Governor Murray will have immediately sent you an Account of this Event, I think it proper to dispatch one to acquaint you of what I have received.

L<sup>d</sup>. Colonel Robertson delivered some orders and Instructions to me as Governor of Virginia dated at St. James's the 16<sup>th</sup>. day of November 1759. And at the same time Instructions to me as Governor, bearing the same date, both being under His Majesty's Royal Sign Manual :

by the Instructions the Kings Will and Pleasure is, that I shall not on any Pretence whatsoever go to Europe, without having first obtained leave for so doing, by His Majesty's Royal Sign Manual and Signet, or by the King's order in His Majesty's Privy Council.

I must now most humbly beg His Majesty's permission for my return to Europe, whenever a Peace is made, and when I passed through England to come to America, I then made a promise, that no Inducement whatsoever should keep me here willingly, so soon as the War was over.

I hope the great mark the King has been pleased to confer

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on me, of His Majesty's most gracious Favor, in appointing me Governor of Virginia, will not be an Objection to my returning to England, if it is an Objection, I must beg to resign the Government, as I would not on any account fail of my word.

I enclose to you, Sir, all Papers that have passed which I imagine are of any moment, or may tend to give you any Information that you would chuse to have of the state of things in this Country as far as regards my Command.

I am with the utmost Respect

Sir

Your most Humble and  
most Obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

M<sup>r</sup>. PITT.

Indorsed. Schenectady 21<sup>st</sup>. June  
1760.

M: G: AMHERST

R<sup>d</sup>. 8<sup>th</sup>. Augt.

PART VIII.—*Amherst's Journal from July 9, 1760, to August 26, 1760 (Amherst to Pitt, August 26, 1760: Public Record Office, as before).*

Camp at Fort William Augustus

26<sup>th</sup>. August 1760.

Sir,

I shall now give You an account of the progress of His Majesty's Troops under my immediate Command, since the date of the last Letter I did myself the Honor to write to you on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June, from Schenectady.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of July I arrived at Oswego, and before any of the Regiments which I had sent from Albany could reach it,

two french Vessells had appeared off Oswego, on the 6<sup>th</sup>. I dispatched some Batteaus & Men to Captain Loring at Niagara, giving him Intelligence of the Vessells.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> the french Vessells appeared off the Harbour, and as I expected the two Snows hourly from Niagara, I sent out some Batteaus towards that place, to induce the Enemy's Vessells to try to intercept them, but they stood towards Cataraqui.

The 14<sup>th</sup> in the Evening, our two Vessells appeared, I put everything on board that could be wanted, and ordered them away to the River St. Lawrence, in hopes of Cutting off the Enemies Vessells from their Harbour.

Our Vessells are the Onondaga & Mohawk, the first carrying four 9 pounders, 14 six pounders and 100 seamen—the other carrying sixteen 6 pounders and ninety seamen. They sailed in quest of the Enemy's Vessells, who appeared off Oswego again on the 20<sup>th</sup>, and with the precautions I had taken, in sending a detachment forward, and given Intelligence to Captain Loring, I was in hopes he could not have missed them, but they escaped him.

On the 23<sup>d</sup> Sir William Johnson arrived, with a great part of the Indians; the Troops came in daily from Albany

The 25<sup>th</sup> I had the honor of receiving Your Letter of the 29<sup>th</sup> April, by Captain Abercrombie, enclosing a Copy of the Orders, relative to Lord George Sackville; and in Obedience to His Majesty's Commands, I have given out the said Orders, to all the Troops in North America.

On the 31<sup>st</sup>, Abercromby's Regiment, with the detachment of Gages & New Yorkers, which I had sent to Presqu' Isle arrived.

The 1<sup>st</sup> August, I received a Letter from Colonel Montgomery, with an Account of his Success, in attacking and beating the Cherokee Indians, and destroying their Towns, the greatest stroke the Indians have felt.

The 6<sup>th</sup> in the Afternoon, Murray's Regiment arrived, and

the next morning, I detached Colonel Haldimand, with the Light Infantry of the Army, Grenadiers, and one Battalion of Royal Highlanders, to take post at the bottom of the Lake, and assist the Vessells, in finding a passage to La Galette.

The 8<sup>th</sup> & 9<sup>th</sup> Schuylers Regiment arrived; and on the 10<sup>th</sup> at daybreak, I ordered the whole Army to Embark; the preparing the Batteaus, was not quite Completed, so that I proceeded with the Regulars, and left Brigadier General Gage to bring up the Provincials and the Rear and, as the sixth Row Galley was not finished, I left it behind.

I Enclose to You, Sir, the Embarkation return, and the number of Whaleboats and Batteaus, with which I proceeded on the Lake, and altho' some were lost and staved, I had the good fortune to have only one Man drowned. The Night of the day I set out from Oswego, proved so very bad, that I was lucky in not losing many more Batteaus—Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage left Oswego the next morning, and Joined me the third day.

On the 15<sup>th</sup>, I passed our two Vessells, that were got out of the right Channel, and could not get down, notwithstanding I had given the best Pilots I could procure. The same day I Joined Col: Haldimand's advanced Corps, and had Intelligence, by an Oswegatchie Indian, that one of the Enemies Vessells had run aground, and was so much damaged, she could not sail from the Fort; and that the other Vessell lay off La Galette—I determined not to wait for our Vessells, and fixed a Howitzer on board one Row Galley; the other four having twelve pounders to attack the Vessell with.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> tho' I had made no halt from the time I had left Oswego, I thought proper from the report I had received, of the Situation of the Enemies ships, not to lose a moment, but proceed down the River to Swegatchie, and to attack their post at Isle Royale.

The Advanced Guard consisting of the Rangers, Gages, Light Infantry of Regiments and Grenadiers, with five Row

Galleys, under the Command of Colonel Grant: It was very late in the day when I reached the Point de Baril with the Advanced Guard, and I sent back to Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage, to Land on the North shore, in case he could not reach the Point de Baril; Soon after, we discovered the french Vessell, and it was impossible not to push on to try to attack her, as it was a Calm: She fired her Signal Guns on seeing the Advanced Guard; Night came on so fast, that it was impracticable to attack her; and then, I ordered the Advanced Guard to row into the South shore; and the Army, late at Night, reached the Point de Baril.

The 17<sup>th</sup> at daybreak the Enemy's Vessell made an attempt to sail up the River,—Colonel Williamson attacked her with the five Row Galleys; the wind became Calm, which favoured much; the Row Galleys could not do better than they did; they fired one hundred and eighteen rounds; the Vessell fired seventy two; had three men killed, twelve wounded and then Struck—A Serjeant of Artillery was killed on board one of the Row Galleys, and a New York Provincial lost his Leg. The Vessell had ten 12 pounders, with four Swivels and one hundred men Commanded by Monsieur La Broquerie—This day I took possession of Swegatchie, and Encamped there; and sent two Engineers, with parties, down the River, to view the Coasts and Situation of the Islands near L'Isle Royale.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> at day break, the Advanced Guard was ready, but the Repairs of the Row Galleys and Vessell took up some time.

The Engineers did not return, till ten o'Clock in the Morning; it was Excessive bad weather, but I was determined to seize the first moment to invest the place; and as the Reports of the Engineers, made no alteration in the disposition I had made, I pursued it in the following manner.

I took with me, Gage's Reg<sup>t</sup> three row Galleys, the Light Infantry, Grenadiers, first Brigade of Regulars, Schuyler's Regiment of Provincials, and the greatest part of the Indians with Sir William Johnson, and some Light field pieces, and

rowed down by the North shore, passed the Fort, and took possession of the Islands & Coasts below it; whilst two Companies of Rangers, two Row Gallies, the Second Brigade of Regulars, Lyman's Regiment of Provincials, with the remainder of the Indians, under the Command of Colonel Haldimand, were to row down the South shore, to take post opposite to the Fort, where they were under Cover; the other Provincial Regiments and the heavy Artillery, remained at Swegatchie. The Vessel sailed down the Middle of the River, between the two Columns, to Anchor at Random Shot from the Fort. This was Effectuated with a smart Cannonading from the Fort, on the Troops, rowing along the North shore, and against the Vessel, which sunk one row Galley; killed two men in another row Galley; one man had his Thigh shot off, and seven were wounded. Several boats and Oars struck with their Shot—At Eleven at Night, the last boat came in, and the place was compleatly invested. Isle Gallot and L'Abbé Picquets Island were found abandoned; The Enemy having left them in a great hurry, as we found the Scalps they had taken on the Mohawk River, with Tools and Utensils of various kinds; two Swivels, Barrils of Pitch, and a quantity of Iron: Our Indians, on finding the Scalps, burnt the Chappel and all the Houses—In the night I tried to get up the Row Galley that was Sunk but could not Effect it.

On the 19<sup>th</sup> at day break, I view'd the Islands with Colonel Williamson and Lieut. Colonel Eyre, and fixed the Batteries, one on each of the two Islands nearest the Fort; and one on a point of Land on the South shore—Detachments were immediately to open Ground—The Fort fired at the Vessel, which was returned; but I directed Lieut St Clair to whom I had given the Command of the Vessel to avoid firing rather than keep it up.

In the Afternoon, Our two Vessels appeared; I sent Orders to them, to Anchor at Random Shot from the Fort, and to avoid firing—At Night, I got the row Galley up, and saved the Gun, that was wounded but not rendered unservice-

able—prepared fascines and everything for carrying on the Siege, and ordered the heavy Artillery to come down this night from Swegatchie

20<sup>th</sup> I ordered the Provincial Regiments from Swegatchie, leaving one Regiment of the Connecticut Troops posted at that place.

23<sup>rd</sup> began to fire from all the Batteries; the Enemy drew in their Guns, and tried to put them under Cover: after some time firing, I made a disposition for storming the Fort, with the Grenadiers of the Army, and ordered the Vessells to fall down close on the Fort, having put as many Marks-men on board each ship, as the Commanding Officers chose to have, in order to keep the Enemy from their Batteries.

The going down of the Vessells to the Fort, was not Effected in the manner I could have wished, and I determined not to pursue my plan that day.

The Fort fired a great deal of Ammunition without much Execution; and our Batteries, by degrees, dismounted their Guns, and made them very shy of standing to their Batteries.

The fire of our Batteries continued till yesterday in the afternoon, when the Garrison beat a parley and I received a Letter from Mo<sup>r</sup> Pouchot Command<sup>r</sup>, a Copy of which, Sir, I send You enclosed; and I sent him the terms of Capitulation Signed, that he might Copy it, Sign it, and send it back to me, after which Lieut Col Massey, with three Companies of Grenadiers, took possession of the Fort.

As I imagine, Sir, it may be agreeable to You, to know several particulars of our Passage on the Lake, the Situation of the Fort, and the apparent Situation of this Coun<sup>try</sup>. I send Captain Prescott, one of my Aides de Camp, with this, that he may give You a clear information, of anything You may chuse to know, and I enclose to You, all papers that I judge may tend to give You, a thorough insight into Affairs here.

I send You a List of the Artillery, Stores &c. that have been taken in the Fort, which I intend to have repaired, as I

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think it by much the best situation I can take, for entirely Commanding Lake Ontario, and effectually Covering the Mohawk River, and all that part of His Majesty's dominions, from the Insults or Inroads of the Savages: And I beg leave to add my Assurances, that I shall make the utmost dispatch I can, in proceeding down the River St<sup>e</sup> Lawrence, and prosecuting the Operations of the Campaign, according to His Majesty's gracious Intentions.

I am with the Utmost Respect, Sir,

Your most Humble  
and most Obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST.

Rt. Honb<sup>l</sup>

Mr. PITT.

Indorsed—Duplicate

of M. G. Amherst's Dispatch to the

R<sup>h</sup> Honb<sup>l</sup> Mr. Secretary Pitt

26<sup>th</sup> August 1760.

R<sup>d</sup> Octr. 5<sup>th</sup> by Cap<sup>t</sup> BARRÉ.

PART IX.—*Amherst's Journal from August 26 to September 8, 1760 (Amherst to Pitt, September 8, 1760: Public Record Office, as before).*

Camp of Montreal

8<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1760.

Sir,

On the 26<sup>th</sup> August I did myself the honour of writing to you, by Captain Prescott, to give you an account of the Progress of His Majesty's Arms to that time, since which I have proceeded to this Place.

from the 26<sup>th</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup>. I was employed in repairing



# EMBARKATION RETURN OF MAJOR-GENERAL AMHERST'S EXPEDITION

THE ST. LAWRENCE, 1760.

(Emitted in Amherst's letter to Pitt, August 26, 1760: *Public Record Office, C.O. 5: 59, formerly A. 1. W. 1. 94.*)

## Embarkation Return of His Majesty's Forces under the Command of Major-General Amherst from the Camp at Fort Ontario 9th of August 1760.

Corps	Regiments		Provincials		Two Armed Indians		Numbers of the Army	
	Officers	Non-Commissioned	Officers	Non-Commissioned	Names	Number of	Names of the Different Nations	Number
Royal Artillery	13	124						
1st Battalion Royal Highlanders	10	462						
2nd Battalion Royal Highlanders	24	361						
3rd Battalion Royal Highlanders	27	569						
4th Battalion Royal Highlanders	25	466						
5th Battalion Royal Highlanders	23	395						
6th Battalion Royal Highlanders	31	470						
7th Battalion Royal Highlanders	24	454						
8th Battalion Royal Highlanders	24	568						
9th Battalion Royal Highlanders	23	568						
10th Battalion Royal Highlanders	7	164						
Total		137						
1st Battalion	24	462						
2nd Battalion	27	569						
3rd Battalion	25	466						
4th Battalion	23	395						
5th Battalion	31	470						
6th Battalion	24	454						
7th Battalion	24	568						
8th Battalion	23	568						
9th Battalion	7	164						
Total		257	52	5586				
Total of Indians								
Total of the Vessels								
Total of the Troops								
Total of the Army								

JEFF. AMHERST

some part of the Fort, mending batteaüs, and fitting out the Vessels, besides making such preparations, as I judged essentially necessary for the passage of the Army down the River.

On the 31<sup>st</sup>. I sat out, rowed twenty four miles, and encamped on Isle au Chat, the Rapids were more frightfull than dangerous.

Sept. 1<sup>st</sup>. I passed the long Saüt, marched Covering Party's on the Shore, the boats were obliged to row in Single File and keep at some distance, this took up great time tho' the Current of the River was violent, the Rapids were full of broken waves, the Batteaüs took in water, a Corporal and three men of the Royal Highlanders were drowned, I encamped at Johnson's Point fourteen miles from Isle au Chat. I sent Partys forward on the Lake St. William Johnson went to an Indian Village, Asquesaskua, to assure them of protection on their good behaviour.

2<sup>nd</sup>. I rowed twenty four miles down Lake St. Francis and encamped at Point au Beaüdet, Monsieur La Corne with a party had been here and at the Indian Village. Very violent Rain and Wind came on at night, luckily our boats were in sheltered Coves.

3<sup>d</sup>. the bad Weather continuing the Army halted, a Scouting Party brought in a Prisoner from the Ceders.

4<sup>th</sup>. the Army was in their Boats soon after day break, the weather was favourable for passing the worse part of the River, but I am sorry to acquaint You, the Rapids were the occasion of eighty four men being drowned. We lost likewise twenty nine batteaüs of Regiments, seventeen of Artillery, with some Artillery and Stores, seventeen Whaleboats, one Row Galley were staved, the Guns with some Stores and Provisions will be saved. I encamped this night at Isle Perrot, about two miles from the River, with the Regulars, it was too late for the greatest part of the Artillery and the Provincials to proceed there, and they Encamped on the river side.

5<sup>th</sup> the Inhabitants of the Island had all run into the Woods and abandoned their houses, some were taken and some came in, I had the Oath of Allegiance tendered to them, and I put them in quiet possession of their houses and they seemed as much surprised with their treatment as they were happy with it, the necessary repairs of Boats put it out of my Power to proceed this day. the remains of the Artillery and the Provincial Regiments Joyned me.

6<sup>th</sup> the Army was in their boats soon after day break, I rowed in four Columns by the right, as I intended to land on my left, at La Chine on the Island of Montreal, about three leagues from my last Camp, the weather was favourable and I landed without Opposition, some flying party's run into Montreal after a few shots; to make the most of the day I could, I marched on, the Partys had broke up one bridge which was soon repaired, and after a march of two Leagues I formed the Troops on a Plain before Montreal where we lay the night on our Arms, and I got up two 12 P<sup>rs</sup> five 6 P<sup>rs</sup> & five 3 P<sup>rs</sup> of light Artillery—I left the New York Troops and two Connecticut Regiments for the security of the Boats at La Chine.

7<sup>th</sup> in the Morning two Officers came to an advanced Post with a Letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, referring me to what one of them, Le Colonel Bougainville, had to say. the conversation ended with a Cessation of Arms 'till twelve o'Clock, at which time the Proposals came. I returned mine and wrote to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, this was followed by another Letter from the Governour. I sent my Answer, I then received a Letter from Monsieur de Levis which I Answered. The troops lay on their Arms at Night, and soon after day I had a Letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, which I Answered, and sent Major Abercrombie into Town, to bring the Articles of Capitulation, signed by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, of which I have sent him a duplicate signed by me, and Colonel Haldimand with the Grenadiers and light Infantry

of the Army has taken Possession of a Post and will proceed to morrow in fulfilling the Articles of Capitulation. I thought it better from the number of Battalions to oblige them not to serve during the present War; than to incumber England with them as Prisoners of War, I shall do myself the honour of sending the Colours of the Battalions to you by the next occasion.

Governor Murray with the Troops from Quebec landed below the Town yesterday, and Colonel Haviland with his Corps (that took possession of the Isle au Noix, which the Enemy abandoned on the 28<sup>th</sup>.) is this day arrived at the South shore opposite my Camp. I should not do Justice to Governor Murray and Colonel Haviland, if I did not assure you they have Executed the Orders I gave them to the utmost of my Wishes. I must likewise beg leave to say I am obliged to B<sup>r</sup>. General Gage for the Assistance he has given me, and I have taken the Liberty to give in publick orders, my assurances to the three Armys that I would take the first opportunity of acquainting the King, with the Zeal and bravery which has allways been exerted by the Officers and Soldiers of the Regular and Provincial Troops, as also by His Majesty's faithfull Indian Allies.

Sir William Johnson has taken unwearied Pains in keeping the Indians in humane bounds, and I have the Pleasure to assure you that not a Peasant, Woman or Child has been hurt by them, or a house burnt, since I entered what was the Enemy's Country.

A Compleat List of Artillery, Arms, Ammunition, Stores &c. in the Several Posts, as well as those of Montreal shall be made out, which I shall transmit to you, time does not permit this at present to be done.

I am to acknowledge the Honour of receiving on the 30<sup>th</sup>. August your Duplicate of the 14<sup>th</sup>. with your Letter of 20<sup>th</sup>. June; enclosing a Copy of Instructions to Lord Colvill of the 20<sup>th</sup>. June. the Assurances you have been pleased to

give of His Majesty's Approbation, on the Receipt of my several Dispatches, makes me very happy.

I shall now use my utmost Endeavours for Settling Every thing in this Country to keep a sure possession of it, and I shall immediately dispose of the Troops in such manner, that I may compleatly finish the Forts which were began last year, and as far as the Season will permit me, I shall repair or erect such Forts or Posts, as may be necessary, for strengthening and insuring the future command of the Lakes, with the possession of Every Part of the South side of the River St Lawrence.

I enclose to You, Sir, a Copy of the Articles of Capitulation with Copys of all the Letters that have passed for your full information of the whole transaction.

I imagine there may be many particulars you may like to know in what has passed since I dispatched Captain Prescott, and I now send Major Barré with this that you may receive all the intelligence I can give you of the present State of Every thing in this Country

I am with the Utmost Respect,

Sir

Your most Humble  
and most obedient Servant

JEFF: AMHERST.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

M<sup>r</sup>. PITT

Indorsed—

Camp at Montreal

8<sup>th</sup>. Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1760.

Gen<sup>l</sup>. AMHERST.

R. Oct. 5

by Major BARRÉ.

## II

### TWO LETTERS FROM A FRENCH OFFICER OF THE GARRISON OF LOUISBOURG.

[These letters were published, as here reproduced, in the *London Magazine*, 1760, pp. 255-258, 294-296, 344-349. They are translations of Letters XXII. and XXIII. in *Lettres et Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Naturelle, Civile et Politique du Cap Breton, depuis son établissement jusqu'à la reprise de cette Isle par les Anglois en 1758. A La Haye, chez Pierre Gosse, et se trouve à Londres, chez Jean Nourse, MDCCLX.* This work is attributed to Thomas Pichon (alias Thomas Signis Tyr ell), who was secretary to Count Raymond, Governor of Louisbourg from 1751 to 1753. He was then sent as Commissary of Stores to Fort Beauséjour, where he became acquainted with Captain Scott, and furnished him and other British Officers with information regarding the condition and movements of the French. When Beauséjour was captured he became nominally a prisoner. He resided at Pisiquid and Halifax till 1750, when he went to London, where he remained till his death in 1781.]

A Course of Genuine Letters, from a French Officer of the Garrison of Louisbourg to his Friend at Paris, have been lately translated and published here, in which, among other Subjects, there is a particular Account of our attacking and taking that place in 1758; and as this Account comes from a Frenchman, we are persuaded, many of our Readers will be glad to see it, therefore we have given it a Place in our Collection; for though the Author be but a shallow Politician, as every Frenchman must be, who has not divested himself of that phantastick Vanity, which is so peculiar to the whole Nation, and which may be of great Service in the Execution, but is extremely dangerous in the Formation of any enterprise, yet he appears to be

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a good officer, and more impartial, with respect to this Nation, than Frenchmen are usually found to be. The Account is contained in the two following Letters, viz.

### LETTER XXII.

SIR,—I own myself not much affected with the loss of the battle of Rosbach, and the violation of the convention of Closter Seven. These two unhappy events would have fixed my attention at any other time; but it is natural to be more sensible of what immediately strikes us; for a misfortune of this kind absorbs every other consideration. From such a preamble you may judge, that we are actually besieged. Yes, Sir, nothing could be more unfortunate; and yet so it is; instead of that powerful squadron which puffed us up with pride last year, our whole defence against the enemy consists of five ships of war, a garrison of two thousand five hundred men, three hundred militia, and a fortification almost ruinous. Such was the situation in which the English found us. You will say, perhaps, that there could not be much glory, where there was so weak a defence. You are mistaken, for to our misfortune, though our weakness exposed us to the mercy of the enemy, it no ways diminished the lustre of their conquest. And, indeed, from the following exact and impartial narrative of the whole affair, you will easily see, that they have been possessed of uncommon bravery to surmount the first obstacles, for which we were indebted to nature; and which less impatience on our side might have rendered insuperable. And to our cost, we have experienced the truth of this maxim; that it is impossible to be too vigorous upon an attack, or too cautious upon a defence. But to the point.

The 28th of May, 1758, a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line, and eighteen frigates, with sixteen thousand land forces on board, set out from Halifax, under the command of admiral Boscawen, and came to an anchor the 2d of June, in

Gabarus Bay. This armament concluded with a proportionable train of artillery, and a vast number of transports; and what rendered it more formidable, was the ardour with which the breasts of the English glowed, to wipe off the disgrace of the taking of Minorca.

As soon as the fleet came to an anchor, general Amherst, and the brigadier-generals Lawrence and Wolfe, went to reconnoitre the several parts of the north side of the bay, proper for landing, and pointed out three. Yet admiral Boscawen had two days before made an experiment, to see what number of men could be landed at the same time, and what conveniency there was for forming the troops as soon as they got ashore. He had likewise ordered the Royal William to cruize before Louisburg. These generals perceived that we had a chain of boats along the shore, from Cape Noire to Cape Blanc, protected by irregulars, and by batteries wherever a descent was practicable. As it was very difficult for us, with so inconsiderable a force, to guard so extensive a coast, we posted a greater number of men in such places as were of easier access. The creek of Cormoran was judged to be of that nature, and therefore we made several encampments along the shore. The first frigate that advanced, and fired upon us, was the Kingston: We returned the compliment from a battery of two pieces of cannon, and from our small arms. The surf having prevented the enemy three days from landing, it was at length resolved the 8th of June, when the sea was not so rough, to attempt a descent upon that very spot, after making a feint to land at Laurenbec. At midnight admiral Boscawen sent all the boats, with the necessary complement of officers, to land the troops. The order of landing was in three divisions; and at the same time, the Sutherland, Kingston, and Halifax, &c. were directed to support the disembarking with a brisk fire. The Sutherland and Squirrel were to the right, just by Cape Blanc; the Kingston and Halifax to the left, near Creek Cormoran; the Grammont, with the frigates Diana and Shannon, was in the



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center. In the mean time, general Wolfe had received orders to send the light troops, and try whether they could not land upon some rocky parts that had always been judged inaccessible, and of course had been left unguarded. Accordingly he sent a hundred men, who were immediately killed or dispersed by the savages, and by some of our people, who flew to that part upon hearing the report of fire arms. About four o'clock in the morning, the enemy tried to land to the left of the creek of Cormoran, with six hundred light troops, a whole battalion of highlanders, and four companies of grenadiers, under the command of general Wolfe. In the mean while, general Whitmore pretended to land to the right of Cape Blanc; and general Lawrence, who commanded the center, made a like feint at the soft water creek. Their intent was to divide our attention; and this was a very proper step for that purpose, considering the smallness of our numbers: But we soon found out the main design of the enemy, when we saw that general Wolfe began to land his men at the creek of Cormoran. Yet nothing ought to have inspired us with a greater confidence than such an attempt: For this being, as I before observed, the weakest part, we had thrown up such entrenchments, that it was impossible for an enemy to land there with any success. We had two thousand regular troops drawn on the shore, and several savages posted in different parts. We were behind a good parapet, defended by several pieces of cannon within proper distances, and by stone mortars of a considerable bore; the whole covered by felled trees, which were laid so close, that it would have been very difficult to pierce through them, even if they had not been defended by our troops under shelter. And as our batteries were masked by this palisade, so that at a distance the whole must have appeared to the enemy like a smooth field; we might have rendered this circumstance of the greatest service to us. We had even absolutely depended upon it, which was the reason of our not being so much alarmed at the weak condition of the town. For what did it

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signify to us, whether it was fortified or not, if we could hinder the enemy from landing? In so advantageous a position, on which our whole safety depended, we might have acted a much better part than that of keeping merely upon the defensive; and this would have been the case were it not for an imprudent step, for which we cannot condemn ourselves too much. As the enemy would naturally march up to us, in expectation of finding only a few paltry entrenchments, which they could easily force, it was our business to let them continue in this error, till they had all landed. Then we should have saluted them with our batteries and small arms; and in all probability, every man of them would have been either killed, or drowned in reembarking in a hurry: And so great a loss would, perhaps, have disheartened the enemy to such a degree, that they would never make another attempt. But wherever success depends on command of temper, the French stand but an indifferent chance; as it appeared unfortunately on this occasion. Scarce had the enemy made a movement to draw near the shore, when we shewed ourselves in a hurry to discover the snare, into which they must have inevitably fallen. By our firing upon their boats, they perceived our disposition; nay, we were so precipitate as to unmask it ourselves, by removing the boughs out of their places, whereby we unluckily convinced them of their great danger. Immediately they put back, and the loss they sustained on this occasion, instead of disheartening them, only served to redouble their ardour. They now thought no place so proper for landing, as that which we judged inaccessible. Major Scot, upon this occasion, performed a most gallant action. General Wolfe, who at that time was busy in reembarking the troops, and putting off the boats, ordered him to climb up the rocks, where they had already sent a hundred men. The major went thither with the troops under his command; but his own boat arriving before the rest, and being staved to pieces the instant he landed, he climbed up the rock by himself. He was in hopes

that the hundred men who had been sent before him, were engaged by this time with our people; but seeing no more than ten, he resolved with this small number to get a-top of the rocks. There he found ten savages, and threescore French, who killed two of his men, and wounded three. Still this brave Englishman would not, even in this extremity, abandon a post, on which the success of the whole enterprize depended. He desired the five soldiers remaining not to be dismayed; and even went so far, as to threaten he would fire upon the first man that would flinch. In the mean time, he had three balls lodged in his clothes, and would have had all the seventy Frenchmen upon him at once, were it not for a copse that was between them, and through which he fired a few shot. At length this hero (for I cannot help doing justice to his valour) was seconded by the rest of the English troops, who perceiving there was no other way to succeed, determined to run all risks in order to carry this point.

It is the interest of the conquered not to diminish the glory of the victor; and besides, it is our duty to do justice, even to our mortal enemy: For which reason I confess, that the English on this occasion behaved with such valour, as before the event must have appeared temerity. Yet it must be allowed, that at the same time the difficulty of the enterprize does them infinite honour, it saves ours. Who could have foreseen that they would venture to climb up rocks, till then reckoned inaccessible; that notwithstanding their boats were every instant dashed in pieces, and notwithstanding the surf which drove them back, and drowned great numbers, still they persisted, with their clothes all wet, and their spirits almost exhausted, to mount the rock, in defiance of our batteries, from whence we plyed them most vigorously, as soon as we perceived their design?

The surprize we were thrown into by the boldness of this attempt, contributed greatly to its success; so that when the enemy attacked the battery which took them in flank, they

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carried it with ease. Besides, it is very certain that notwithstanding we might have hindered their descent with a little more prudence and circumspection; yet neither one nor the other, nor even the most heroic bravery would have availed us, when once they had effected their descent. The best thing therefore we could do, was to retire, which we did the more precipitately, as we were informed that general Whitmore, in the confusion we were under, had landed to the right of Cape Blanc. We had great reason to be afraid that he would cut us off from Louisburg, where we had left only three hundred men; for in that case all would have been over with us. Though our loss, on that fatal day, amounted to about two hundred men killed and taken prisoners; and though our town was in so bad a state of defence, still we did not despond. We had reason to expect we should not be deserted; and that M. de Montcalm, as we had been promised, would come with a squadron to our assistance.

Besides so well-grounded an expectation, the council of war considered, that by retarding, as much as possible, the reduction of the place (upon a supposition that no succours at all arrived) we should retard also the expedition of the enemy against Canada, and even render their design abortive, at least for this year. For this reason we detained five French men of war in the road, though the commodore had asked leave to retire; and we prepared to render our defence at least of some service to our country, if it could be none to ourselves. Besides this resolution, we prayed heartily that the enemy would shew less conduct and bravery in their other enterprizes: So greatly was our tone altered since the misfortune and retreat of admiral Holburne.

In the mean while, we had left the enemy in possession of some provisions, and arms, and fourteen pieces of cannon, with twelve stone mortars, and two fourneaus for red-hot balls, one of which was ready charged. As our flight could not be effected the directest way, and a great many of us were obliged

to make our escape over rocks and morasses, we did not get under the cannon of Louisburg, till ten o'clock in the morning. And then we ended this affair, in the same unlucky manner as we began it, with an act of imprudence. By a discharge from our ramparts, the enemy were apprized of the reach of our batteries, when we might very easily have foreseen, that they were at too great a distance to receive any detriment. Thus we regulated the situation of their camp, which accordingly they kept during the whole siege.

Sir Charles Hardy, who was cruising at the mouth of the harbour, to prevent our receiving any succours, could not hinder a French man of war from passing through his squadron by the help of a thick fog. In vain did admiral Boscawen order this vessel to be chased; it got safe into Louisbourg road; so that we had now six ships of the line, and as many frigates. After the junction of Sir Charles Hardy's squadron to that of admiral Boscawen, occasioned by a sickness on board the fleet, the *Echo*, one of our frigates, ventured to put to sea. She was to sail to Canada, and to run all hazards, in order to apply for speedy assistance: But she was stopped short in her voyage. Admiral Boscawen ordered the *Scarborough* and the *Juno* to give chase to her, and she was taken. In the mean time, some of the enemy's ships had advanced as far as *Loirebec*, with fascines, ammunition, and artillery. The ninth day after the enemy's landing, they pitched their camp within about three hundred fathoms of Louisbourg. They had likewise posted some troops in the creek of *Cormoran*, and other adjacent parts, in order to prevent the incursions of the savages. There was also another detachment to secure the communication between the camp and the sea side. The eleven hundred men, under the command of major *Scot*, with three hundred irregulars, were continually beating the rounds, in order to prevent any surprize from the savages or Canadians, whom we expected to come to our assistance.

All these precautions, however, did not hinder four hundred

of the regiment of Cambise, from throwing themselves into the town, after landing at Port Dauphin, nor the men of war that brought them, from getting safe back. In the mean time, Sir Charles Hardy returned to his former station, with a view to block up the harbour, lest our ships of war should take the opportunity of a fog to make their escape.

The 11th, whilst the enemy were employed in cutting through rocks and in draining morasses, in order to open the necessary passages through the camp; and while our men were endeavouring to repair the fortifications; a sergeant-major, and four soldiers of Fischer's regiment of foreign volunteers, deserted to the English. No doubt but they encouraged the enemy's workmen, by letting them know our situation, our incapacity of bettering it, and the great despondency of the garrison, who were ready to desert. They likewise told them, that we had destroyed the great battery, together with that of the light-house, and every thing that we could possibly destroy around the town.

Upon this intelligence, major Scot was commanded the next day to put himself at the head of five hundred men, and to make himself master of the light-house battery. He was followed by brigadier-general Wolfe, who had under him four companies of grenadiers, and twelve hundred men detached from the lines. They found that the deserters had informed them right, and that we had left only four cannon, and those nailed up. The situation of this post being extremely advantageous to the enemy, as they might easily annoy our ships from thence, and throw bombs upon the island battery, they sent away immediately for a sufficient quantity of artillery and machines. But the impossibility of maintaining this post obliged us to abandon it; for it was more than we could do to guard the batteries and ramparts of the town. Not far from hence there was a little creek, very convenient for landing of provisions and artillery, or any other necessities; and to complete their good fortune, on that very same spot they

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found, in two small camps which we had abandoned, all sorts of provisions, and among the rest, some Lorembec fish and very good wine. True it is, that we had not any reason to be sorry for this last capture. For we had no scarcity at all; nay we could have wished that we had mouths enough to consume our provisions. This plenty was the cause of great waste; and the soldiers were so used to profusion, that they would neither work, nor go upon a sally, unless they were half drunk. A person must have been witness to the indulgences, which a commander is obliged to shew to disheartened troops, when there is no longer a possibility of concealing from them, either their own weakness, or the superiority of the enemy; before he can be a judge of the situation we were now reduced to. Honour and glory are the incentives of gentlemen; but as for the common people, when the bounds of fear are once broke through, we must substitute those of interest and condescension, though even these do frequently prove insufficient and dangerous to officers who are obliged to have recourse to such an extremity.

As there was a possibility of landing in those places where the English took post, we had erected parapets and palisades in the same manner as at the creek of Cormoran, but had not time to destroy those defences. The English, however, knew how to apply them to a proper use. Early the next morning, in order to divert the enemy from their works, we sent out a party, who made a feint as if they intended to advance towards general Wolfe: But this officer having received the alarm, by a messenger from major Ross, who commanded a detached guard betwixt the camp and town, our men immediately retired, after making a shew as if they had no other intention than to burn a few paltry houses. We could not spare to lose many of our men, and yet we should have been glad to retard the enemy's works. At length we resolved to trust something to fortune, when we saw them all hard at work in the great camp, and that they had already raised three redoubts

between the right and left of the eminence where they were posted. For which reason three hundred of our men made a sally in open day upon their advanced parties, but were repulsed with loss.

Nothing now remained, but to annoy the light-house camp as much as possible from the island battery, which we did with success, till the English judged proper to remove their line to a position out of our reach. True it is, that they acted on this occasion like men of spirit, for their grenadiers continued on this dangerous spot till the next day.

This same 14th we feigned another attack on the right side of major Ross; or rather we should have really attempted it, if a body of troops, much superior to ours, had not come up to his assistance. We towed afterwards a shallop to the mouth of the harbour; and mounted two twenty-four pounders upon it, with a view of annoying Mr. Wolfe's new camp, which was situated near the shore. This shallop cast anchor near the island battery, and after firing her guns for some time, returned to her former situation in the harbour. This operation she renewed several times, which caused more uneasiness than real damage to the enemy. She likewise played upon the two men of war that had drawn near to observe us; but as they returned the fire, six of her men were killed: Yet the enemy did not venture to pursue her, because she was covered with ten forty-two pounders on the island battery.

Notwithstanding all we could do, from the 14th to the 19th, we had the mortification to see the entrenchments round both the camps of the enemy completed; neither was it in our power to hinder the transporting of the several implements and utensils destined for the siege. It was about this time that the frigate Echo, which I mentioned to you before, was taken; and that Sir Charles Hardy's squadron returned to the position, which it had quitted in order to join the admiral.

Yesterday, the 19th, towards evening, the enemy in the light-house camp opened a battery of cannon and mortars,



which played very briskly upon the island battery, and upon the ships till morning. We answered them with the same vivacity, but not with the same advantage, because the situation of the enemy, upon an eminence, hindered us from doing them any great harm; and besides, they have a good shelter behind the precipices and high grounds. In short, this very morning the light-house battery continued to thunder upon our ships with such fury, that they were obliged to draw six hundred yards nearer the town, which indeed keeps them a little more out of cannon-shot, but at the same time leaves more room for the enemy to approach, and makes it less inconvenient to advance their works, which the fire from our ships had greatly obstructed.

I am very sensible, that upon the receipt of this letter, which I am going to send you by the *Arethusa*, a frigate just ready to sail, you will be under the greatest inquietude: Yet what would you say of me, were I to neglect this opportunity of acquainting you with our misfortune? Doubtless you would receive the news from others, and would be disobliged with me for leaving you in such an uncertainty in regard to our fate. I promise to continue a faithful narrative of the siege: If the town is taken by storm, this account perhaps will never reach you; but as a good citizen, more than as a soldier, I hope we shall capitulate, when we are no longer able to defend ourselves. In all probability, I shall see you very soon after my next, if I do not bring it myself. In the mean time you will allow, that I was not so much mistaken in predicting and lamenting what has happened; and I had reason to say, that your fatal war on the continent would prove the ruin of this valuable and flourishing colony. What an immense sum it will cost to restore it to its former condition, supposing that the English, who are but too well acquainted with the value of it, should consent to part with it again, or that we should be able to compel them! What an infatuation, that we should thus neglect a settlement, the preservation of which was of the

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utmost importance to us ; and to neglect it for paltry concerns, no way interesting to us, and in which we are very likely to be duped ! Adieu ; I should never have done, were I to give a full scope to my lamentations : I shall be imitated in Europe, when it is too late.

I am, &c.

LETTER XXIII.

*The Siege of Louisbourg continued. Resistance of the Garrison, who are at length obliged to capitulate. Treatment of them and the Inhabitants, &c.*

SIR,—You will not receive my last letter so early as I imagined ; neither shall I follow this so soon as I could have wished. The *Arethusa* tarried here 15 days longer than I expected ; but, as she only waited for a favourable opportunity, and was every minute ready to sail, I have not been able to add to my former accounts the operations that have been carried on during that time. Since this colony has fallen under the dominion of the English, my ailments, and the inquietudes inseparable from our dismal situation, have prevented my embarking for France. Very likely I shall stay here some time longer, thanks to the humanity of our conquerors ; and, in truth, nothing but their valour can equal their generosity. But my narrative and encomiums shall keep pace together : Therefore let us continue to recount the effects of that virtue for which we have paid so dear ; and we shall afterwards come to the other, of which every one of us ought to preserve the most grateful remembrance. I left off, if I am not mistaken, at the recital of a situation which had revived my expressions of sorrow ; and you will now be able to judge whether they were just or not.

The 21st of June, our ships made a most terrible peal upon the light-house battery, which was said to have been

somewhat damaged. We fired against the enemy from all sides, as far as our strength, or the showers of bombs, would permit. All the next day there was a very thick fog, of which the enemy availed themselves, to erect an advanced redoubt betwixt the center of the grand camp and that to the right. By this step it became easier for them to get possession of an eminence, which commanded the part of the camp towards the town, at the distance of about 800 yards from the glacis. They likewise erected a battery of six cannon at the light house, in order to silence the island battery, by which they were greatly incommoded. They erected another against our ships; and, last of all, they made an epaulement to facilitate their approaches to the town by the eminence. This work was about a quarter of a mile in length, sixty feet wide, and nine deep, consisting of gabions, fascines, and earth. Four days were spent in these preparations, and the 25th we experienced their effect. One of the embrasures of the island-battery was damaged, so that we could only make use of bombs. This defect was supplied, as much as possible, by our battery of Cape Maurepas, and by the cannon of our ships.

The 26th we resolved to set fire to the enemy's new fort; but those who attempted it were repulsed without effecting their design.

The 27th, perceiving that the enemy was continually advancing, we redoubled our fire without being able to interrupt the workmen; on the contrary, we ourselves were terribly incommoded by the enemy's bombs. Besides, the admiral, extending his vigilance to every part, caused 400 soldiers to be landed in the creek of Cormoran; a precaution of great use to the besiegers.

Two days after, we sunk two frigates and two ships in the narrowest part of the mouth of the harbour, and fastened them together, to the end that, if the enemy's ships should attempt to force their way through, there might not be room for above one at a time. During this operation, our frigate

Arethusa ventured out as far as she could; and her guns extremely incommoded the enemy's workmen. The English returned the fire with the same vivacity; and being impatient to make their approaches, they used all their endeavours to drive our ships back. Matters were thus pretty uniform on both sides during the space of four days.

The 1st of July a detachment of our people sallied out of the wood, and advanced about a mile beyond the pond, upon which, Mr. Wolfe went to meet them with 5 or 600 regulars. There was a very brisk skirmish; but at length our men were obliged to retire. This they did in good order, firing all the time upon the enemy, who gained nevertheless two very advantageous eminences, on which they immediately threw up a redoubt. On our side we sunk two frigates more, and left their masts standing above water. The following days the enemy formed their lines, and their light troops defended themselves against the savages, who hovered about the camp in order to pick up any stragglers.

There is no manner of doubt, but, notwithstanding the advantages the English had over us, in the valour and ability of their general officers, they were sensible of the arduousness of their enterprize. For our part, the length of our defence had surpassed our expectation; and we could not help sighing when we considered that it would have been impossible for the enemy to succeed, had we been but upon an equal footing.

Yet, as we were determined not to surrender till the last extremity, we made a sally, the 8th, upon a detachment of workmen commanded by brigadier-general Lawrence. We surprized them by the help of a very dark night: But what could 900 men do against the whole vanguard of the enemy, who immediately flew to the assistance of the sappers? We had two captains and a few soldiers killed. The day following we sent a flag of truce, to beg leave to bury the dead.

The 10th, the admiral set 200 miners to work. In the mean while, we fired chain-shot at them, and made as much

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noise as possible. The *Arethusa* employed the time she was hindered from sailing, in such a manner, as made us amends for this involuntary delay. The night of the 11th, we perceived a great fire in the woods; and, as it was a signal of the approach of M. des Herbiers with a reinforcement of Canadians and savages, we began to pluck up our spirits. Besides, we knew that, as M. des Herbiers piqued himself more for his bravery than for his humanity, there was no doubt of his harrassing the enemy as much as possible, with the troops which he would keep hovering about their camp, after he had reinforced the garrison. This same officer had the good fortune to snap up an English soldier that was driving a cart; and being apprized, by this fellow, of the situation of the enemy's camp, he immediately let us know it, to the end that we might point our batteries accordingly.

The 15th, a thick fog arising, the *Arethusa* embraced the opportunity to slip away in the night; and, tho' the enemy used all possible expedition in giving chase to this ship, she got clear off. Yet I am of opinion, that her departure gave more pleasure to the English than to us.

The 16th, Mr. Wolfe made himself master of the post occupied by our piquets, situated within 400 yards of the West gate; and there he maintained himself in spite of all our fire from our cannon and bombs. A deserter from the camp having informed us where the enemy's magazines lay, we directed our shells in such a manner, as to alarm them greatly. The ensuing days their approaches towards the town were carried on with success, as were also the new batteries, one of which began to play very briskly on the Dauphin bastion, and the West gate.

The 21st proved fatal to us: Our ship the *Entreprenant*, of 64 guns, having been set on fire by a cannon shot from the enemy, blew up in the middle of the harbour; and in its fall the fire spread itself to two more ships, the *Celebre* and the *Capricieux*, which were both burnt. The other vessels escaped

with very great difficulty and risque, being obliged to pass between the enemy's battery and the cannon of the ships on fire, which played upon us as well as upon them. Several of our small craft were burnt; in short, it was a night of horror and desolation. The Prudent and the Bienfaisant, of 64 guns, which had escaped this time, soon after fell a prey to the enemy.

Admiral Boscawen had given orders for each ship under his command to get ready two boats, two pinnaces, and a barge, armed with musquets, bayonets, cutlasses, hatchets, and pistols. These, under the command of the captains La Forey and Balfour, entered the harbour in great silence, on a very dark night. As our batteries and ramparts had been very much damaged these three days, and as the fire of the enemy's small-arms made it almost impracticable for us to maintain ourselves on those same ramparts which we were endeavouring to repair; and, lastly, as a breach had been already made in the Dauphin bastion and the West gate; we did not want for work. Besides, we had seen the besiegers bring ladders to the trenches; and, as we apprehended a scalade every moment, we kept continually firing our small-arms on the ramparts, while the enemy plied us in the same manner without intermission. It is not, therefore, at all surprizing, that, in such confusion and alarm, we did not perceive the boats, which, as I mentioned to you before, slipped into the harbour. Their aim was against the two only ships we had left; and they succeeded. Captain La Forey attacked the Prudent, and captain Balfour, the Bienfaisant. The report of the guns made us sensible of our fresh misfortune; but it was too late. In vain did we direct every battery, that was still in a condition to play, against the enemy's boats: We could not hinder the Bienfaisant from being towed close by our walls into the North-East harbour, under the protection of the enemy's batteries; nor the Prudent, which was a-ground, from being set on fire.

I must confess, Sir, that this action did as much honour to the English, as damage to us: And, indeed, so long as our ships remained in the harbour, it would have been difficult for them to make a general assault. Here then was our *coup de grace*. Of this we were convinced, the next day, by the shocking spectacle before us. We were under the greatest concern to see our harbour desolated, and laid waste: It was covered with the wrecks, as well of those ships that had been burnt, as of those which either we or our enemy had sunk. When we turned our eyes to view the situation of the town, our affliction was heightened. Our batteries were almost ruined; not above twelve pieces of cannon were in a condition to fire; a breach had been rendered practicable; our numbers were greatly reduced; and the redoubling of the enemy's fire had nearly destroyed us. Add to this, no ways and means to repair our losses; no appearance of relief; nay, we had seen the enemy, a few days before, seize on two Spanish vessels that were bringing us succours.

In so melancholy a situation, there was nothing left but to capitulate; so that we suspended our fire, and sent to demand a truce, in order to regulate the articles of surrender. We insisted upon terms far more honourable, and more advantageous, than we had a right to expect; and, in case of a refusal, we were resolved to hold out to the last. The officer charged with the proposals of our commandant, M. de Drucourt, returned with the following letter from general Amherst.

"In answer to the proposal received on the part of your excellency, I have nothing further to say, than that his excellency admiral Boscawen and I have determined, that our men of war shall enter the harbour to-morrow, in order to make a general assault. Your excellency knows full well the situation of the army and fleet, as well as of the town; but, as admiral Boscawen and myself are both desirous of avoiding any further effusion of blood, we give your excellency an hour to determine on the only capitulation we are willing to grant, which

is, to surrender yourselves prisoners of war; otherwise, your excellency must be answerable for all the fatal consequences of so useless a defence."

M. de Drucourt, being extremely exasperated at these hard terms, resolved, in a council of war, to defend the town to the last extremity. In consequence of this resolution, he was going to send an answer to the enemy, intimating that he would wait for a general assault; when the commissary, M. Prevost, came and presented a petition to him in behalf of the inhabitants. During this interval an officer had been sent back to Messrs. Boscawen and Amherst, in order to obtain more favourable conditions: But, as they persisted in the same answer, nothing further remained but to comply immediately, either with the desire of the officers of the garrison, who were ready to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, or with the petition of the commissary, which, without all manner of doubt, was the most prudent step that could be taken, under our present situation. He laid a very great stress, not upon the inutility of the defence, for that was visible; but on the duty of a good citizen in preserving a colony, the ruin of which must be attended with that of all the French possessions in North America. He observed further, that the councils which M. de Drucourt had hitherto called, consisted only of military gentlemen, whose deliberations were entirely directed by the glory of the king's arms, and their own honour; but that these considerations, though of as great weight with himself as with any man whatever, ought to give way to the publick welfare, for which he thought they were accountable; in short, that, in their present condition, the most heroick valour could be regarded only as an act of desperation.

So solid did these arguments appear, that there was no answering them; so that M. de Drucourt acquiesced, and submitted to the law of the conqueror. The capitulation was soon drawn up, and the articles were as follow.



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"First, the garrison of Louisbourg shall surrender themselves prisoners of war, and be transported to England on board of vessels belonging to his Britannick majesty.

Secondly, all the artillery, ammunition, as well as arms, of what kind soever, at present in the town and islands of Cape Breton and St. John, shall be consigned into the hands of commissaries appointed for that purpose, in order to be delivered up to his Britannick majesty.

Thirdly, the governor shall give orders to the troops in the island of St. John, to surrender to such ships of war as the admiral shall please to send to take them on board.

Fourthly, the gate called Dauphin shall be opened to his Britannick majesty's troops by ten o'clock to-morrow morning; and the garrison, as well as those who have borne arms, shall be drawn up to-morrow upon the esplanade, where they shall lay down their arms, colours, and military accoutrements; after which they shall go on board those vessels which are to transport them to England.

Fifthly, the same care shall be taken of the sick and wounded in the hospitals, as of the subjects of his Britannick majesty.

Sixthly, the merchants and their clerks, that have not borne arms, shall be sent to France on board such vessels as the admiral shall judge proper to appoint."

This capitulation was made the 26th of July, and, of course, after a bloody siege of two months, which we could never have maintained for so long a time had it not been for those four ships of war which we were unfortunately obliged to sacrifice.

The day following, at the hour agreed to, major Farquhar took possession of the gate Dauphin at the head of three companies of grenadiers. By noon general Whitmore, who had so greatly contributed to the taking of the place, had the honour, due to him, of receiving the submission of the garrison on the esplanade. He then caused the arms and colours to be

carried off, ordered corps de gardes and centinels, and, in short, acted as governor of Louisbourg.

We had only one misfortune more to apprehend; though, perhaps, this gave no great uneasiness to those silly fools (and many such there were amongst us) who never troubled their heads, either about what is past, or to come: for would you imagine how our officers were employed during the heat of the siege? When they were not upon duty, they assembled together, and gamed so very high, that, to see them, one would have thought they were certain of the future inutility of their money. Perhaps it was a mark of courage: I should say so if a tranquility during the moment of destruction merited that name; but I am very far from being of this opinion. I could not help censuring the folly of those bold gamesters, whom a single bomb, out of a thousand that fell every day, might have crushed to pieces in the midst of so laudable an occupation. You will tell me, perhaps, that I am going to turn preacher. No I, indeed: At least, I shall give no lecture of morality; but, as to an elogium on our conquerors, I hope you will indulge me in it: Both justice and gratitude demand it of our hands; and therefore I have only to return to the subject which preceded this digression.

Yes, Sir, we had one misfortune more to apprehend, viz. that our enemies should, on the present occasion, copy after our example. They had not forgot the extraordinary barbarities and cruelties which we had suffered the savages to practise upon them, after the taking of Oswego, and Fort Henry-William, which had surrendered, nevertheless, upon a more advantageous capitulation than that which we had but just concluded. There had not been time enough to efface the memory of that action; and the continuation of the war had kept up the spirit of just resentment. Besides, though we were conquered, we frequently let fall some expressions that shewed our animosity, and were far from soothing exasperated minds. The evening before the English took

possession of the town, we suffered the soldiers to plunder the magazines; and the priests spent the whole night in marrying all the girls of the place to the first that would have them, for fear they should fall into the hands of hereticks. Besides, the exhausted state of the military chest had raised a suspicion which was likely to create more ill blood; but, notwithstanding all these circumstances, the probity, honour, and humanity, of the English chiefs, prevailed. Messieurs Boscawen and Amherst, after acting with that spirit of harmony which is so uncommon in joint commanders, and redounds so greatly to their honour, and after conducting this enterprize with equal valour and ability, shewed themselves possessed of those virtues that form the man of honour, as much as of those that distinguish the hero.

The vigilance of the admiral during the whole time of the siege; his application in search of the proper means to bring it to a happy issue, his judgment in the choice of those means, as appeared most evidently in executing the scheme against our two men of war; his activity, which was not satisfied with the business of the fleet committed to his care, but induced him to come every day to the camp, in order to concert matters with general Amherst; these are objects which the English will never lose sight of, and which, undoubtedly, must command the perpetual gratitude of his country. Our acknowledgment is also due to him upon a very just title, though of a different kind; and our esteem is a tribute which he most richly deserves on both accounts.

To be brief, Sir, no body here can perceive, at least by any personal inconveniency, that we are in a conquered town. The garrison has embarked with as much tranquility, as if it had been going upon a voyage of pleasure. Every soldier has taken away whatever belonged to him, without suffering the least injustice. M. de Drucourt has received all the honours which a person of his rank deserved. The admiral has shewn all the respects to Madame de Drucourt, as were due to her

merit: Every favour she ask'd was granted. True it is, that such behaviour does honour to the discernment of the gentlemen that shewed it. This lady has performed such exploits, during the siege, as must entitle her to rank among the most illustrious of her sex; for she fired three cannon every day, in order to animate the gunners. After the surrender of the town, she interested herself in behalf of all the unfortunate people that had recourse to her mediation. In this number, M. Maillet de Grandville was a striking instance of the instability of fortune. He left France at the age of 17, and arrived at Quebec in very indifferent circumstances: But, by his industry and application to business, he soon advanced himself in the world, so as to be able to purchase the lordship of Mount Louis, which cost him fourscore thousand livres: But now, by the Taking of Louisburg, he loses upwards of 150,000, and is left quite destitute with a numerous family. Yet what have these private losses, you will say, to do with our country in general? A great deal, I assure you; though the persons entrusted with the reins of government, seem to act as if these were matters of no concern at all. Do you imagine that there will be such numbers, henceforward, so ready to quit their country, and to spend their days in incessant toil, when they might pass them agreeably at home, if they find that they are to be stripped of the fruit of all their labour, by a most shameful neglect of our colonies? But this revives my old lamentations; and, in all probability, you have had enough of that strain already in France. Nothing, therefore, remains, but to let you know, that I purpose very soon to have the pleasure of embracing you, if my departure, which depends on my state of health, should be so near at hand as I expect: Yet I fancy you will have another letter before that time. I have contracted a particular intimacy with an Englishman of extraordinary good sense, with whom I have been several times in company. I purpose giving you an account of our conversation; and I fancy you will not be displeased to

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hear what our enemies think in regard to the importance of their conquest; and you will be able thereby to form a better judgment of the reasons we had to be so strenuous, both for the defence, and recovery, of that fortress. But I shall conclude with giving you a commission, which, I fancy, will be extremely agreeable to your disposition: This is, to tell our merchants, that the enemy have done no injury or violence here at all to people in trade, but have suffered them to dispose of their effects in what manner they pleased; to let our officers know, that the gentlemen of the army have been treated with all the respect and moderation imaginable; to acquaint the common people, that the most humane usage has been shewn to persons of their condition; and, lastly, to apprise all our countrymen in general, that, if this reverse of fortune should increase their natural antipathy against the English, it furnishes us with another motive to endeavour to get out of our debt; and therefore we ought to embrace the first opportunity of making them a proper return, not so much for the loss we have sustained, as for their humane behaviour to our people. I think, and doubtless you will think so too, that such ought to be the wishes, and such the conduct, of a generous mind.

Your most. &c.

### III

#### LIST OF BRITISH OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED DURING THE SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG, 1758.

[Based on Amherst's Return: see *London Magazine*, 1756, p. 420.  
The names have been identified by means of the Army Lists.]

James Fenton, appointed Lieutenant 2nd battalion 1st or  
Royal Regiment of Foot February 16, 1756.

[Killed.]

James How, appointed Lieutenant 2nd battalion 1st or Royal  
Regiment of Foot February 2, 1757.

[Killed.]

Henry Nicholson, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment  
January 11, 1758.

[Killed.]

Colin Campbell, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment Sep-  
tember 4, 1754.

[Killed.]

William, Earl of Dundonald, appointed Captain 15th Regi-  
ment February 2, 1757.

[Killed.]

Godfrey Roe, Ensign of the 48th Regiment. (His name does  
not appear in the Army List for 1758.)

[Killed.]

Lieutenant Hart of the 60th Regiment. (Probably Abraham  
Hart, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment January 16,  
1756.)

[Killed.]

Charles Baillie, appointed Captain 63rd Regiment (later 78th)  
January 10, 1757.

[Killed.]

John Cuthbert, appointed Lieutenant 63rd Regiment January  
18, 1757.

[Killed.]

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 121

Lieutenant Fraser of the 63rd Regiment. (Probably Simon Fraser, appointed Lieutenant February 8, 1757.)

[Killed.]

John Murray, appointed Lieutenant 63rd Regiment February 6, 1757.

[Killed.]

Francis Ceruthers, Ensign in Capt. Rogers' Rangers.

[Killed.]

John Henry Bastide, Chief Director of Engineers in America and Colonel of Foot January 4, 1758.

[Wounded.]

Francis Fitzsimons, Lieutenant 2nd battalion 1st or Royal Regiment, appointed Lieutenant September 16, 1754.

[Wounded.]

Alexander Baillie, appointed Lieutenant 2nd battalion 1st Regiment February 2, 1757.

[Wounded.]

Dudley Ashe, appointed Lieutenant 2nd battalion 1st Regiment November 22, 1756.

[Wounded.]

Henry Waterson, appointed Ensign 2nd battalion 1st Regiment November 22, 1756.

[Wounded.]

Henry Hamilton, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment September 2, 1756.

[Wounded.]

Francis Mukins, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment March 30, 1756; Adjutant August 29, 1756.

[Wounded.]

Joseph Moneypenny, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment October 6, 1757.

[Wounded.]

Paul Rycout, appointed Captain-Lieutenant 17th Regiment February 2, 1757; Captain same regiment July 10, 1758.

[Wounded.]

Francis Tew, appointed Lieutenant 17th Regiment February 2, 1757.

[Wounded.]

Piers Butler, appointed Lieutenant 22nd Regiment February 16, 1755.

[Wounded.]

John German (or Jermyn), appointed Lieutenant 22nd Regiment May 4, 1757.

[Wounded.]

William Hamilton, appointed Lieutenant 22nd Regiment October 25, 1756.

[Wounded.]

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- Arthur Brown, appointed Captain 28th Regiment December 10, 1755. [Wounded.]  
Richard Allen, appointed Captain 35th Regiment February 16, 1756. [Wounded.]  
Lieutenant Brown of the 35th Regiment. (Probably Thomas Brown, appointed Lieutenant February 16, 1756.) [Wounded.]  
John Cockburne, appointed Lieutenant 35th Regiment November 26, 1756; Adjutant March 25, 1757. [Wounded.]  
Thomas Armstrong, appointed Ensign 35th Regiment April 9, 1756. [Wounded.]  
Moses Lily, appointed Ensign 40th Regiment June 26, 1755; Lieutenant same regiment March 18, 1758. [Wounded.]  
Thomas Hopkins, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment June 6, 1757. [Wounded.]  
Edward Smith, appointed Captain 58th Regiment January 26, 1758. [Wounded.]  
Donald McDonnell, appointed Captain 63rd Regiment January 12, 1757. [Wounded.]  
Alexander Campbell, appointed Lieutenant 63rd Regiment May 7, 1757. [Wounded.]  
John McDonell, appointed Lieutenant 63rd Regiment July 23, 1757. [Wounded.]

### LIST OF BRITISH OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED AT QUEBEC

FROM JUNE 26 TO OCTOBER 1, 1759.

[Compiled from the official returns in Gen. Wolfe's despatch of September 2, 1759 (*Royal Magazine*, 1759, p. 207); Gen. Townshend's of September 20 (*ibid.*, pp. 212-213); and Gen. Monckton's of October 8 (Public Record Office, London: A. & W. I., Vol. 88, published in





To Edward Barron. Gent.

By virtue of the Power and Authority  
Constitute and appoint you to be Ensign  
Captain, in the second Battalion of His  
Americans, whereof Jeffery Amherst Esq  
and diligently to discharge the duty of  
both the Inferior Officers and Soldiers of  
follow such orders and Directions from  
His Majesty, myself, or any other your  
Discipline of war. Given at Point A  
In the Thirty <sup>Third</sup> second year of the Reign  
the Grace of God, King of Great Britain  
Faith &c

By Command of the General.  
P. Surveyn. Esq

Mo  
of

By James Wolfe Esq. Colonel of the  
Sixty-seventh Regiment of Foot  
and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's  
Forces in the River St. Lawrence.

Authority to me given by His Majesty, I do hereby  
Ensign in that Company where of \_\_\_\_\_ is  
of His Majesty's Sixtieth Regiment of Royal  
hust Esq. is Colonel. You are therefore carefully  
ity of Ensign, by exercising and well disciplining  
diers of that Company. And you are to observe and  
ions from time to time as you shall receive from  
er your superior officer, according to the Rules and  
oint Levi. This Fourth Day of April 1758  
Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second, by  
Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the

"Jame Wolfe.

al. Enters in the Office of  
Wolfe Esq. late Major General  
of Militia. By Order  
Command of the Lord at Quebec.



## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 123

*Siege of Quebec*, Vol. III.). The names have been verified by means of the Army Lists, and, so far as possible, the dates of the casualties inserted from the various journals of the campaign.]

### GENERAL AND STAFF OFFICERS.

- Major-General Wolfe. (See note, Vol. I. p. 206.)  
[Killed September 13.]
- Brigadier-General Robert Monckton. (See note, Vol. I. p. 163.)  
[Wounded September 13.]
- Adjutant-General Isaac Barra. (See note, Vol. I. p. 331.)  
[Wounded September 13.]
- Quarter-Master-General Guy Carleton. (See note, Vol. I. p. 330.)  
[Wounded September 13.]
- Captain the Hon. Richard Maitland, Major of Brigade, appointed Captain 43rd Regiment September 4, 1754; Lieutenant-Colonel August 22, 1760.  
[Wounded August 8.]
- Captain John Spital, Major of Brigade, appointed Captain 47th Regiment November 24, 1755; Major, March 1, 1760.  
[Wounded September 13.]
- Captain Hervey Smyth, Aide de Camp, appointed Captain 15th Regiment November 8, 1756.  
[Wounded September 13.]
- Captain Thomas Bell, Aide de Camp, appointed First Lieutenant Marines March 1757; Captain, 1758.  
[Wounded July 26.]
- Colonel Simon Fraser, appointed Colonel 78th Regiment January 5, 1757. [Wounded on or about July 26.]
- Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Burton, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel 48th Regiment October 15, 1754. (See note, Vol. II. p. 464.) [Wounded July 31.]
- Major Paulus Æmilius Irving of the 15th Regiment. (See note, Vol. II. p. 4.) [Wounded August 8.]

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Major Augustine Prevost, appointed Major 60th Regiment  
January 9, 1756. [Wounded July 21.]

Captain Arthur Loftus, appointed Captain 15th Regiment  
March 12, 1754. [Reported as wounded in Gen.  
Wolfe's despatch September 2.]

Captain Ralph Cory, appointed Captain 28th Regiment May 2,  
1751; Major same regiment February 27, 1760.  
[Wounded September 13.]

Captain Alcomb Milbank, appointed Captain 28th Regiment  
March 8, 1757. [Wounded September 13.]

Captain James Mitchelson, appointed Captain 28th Regiment  
April 9, 1756. [Wounded July 26.]

Captain Thomas Spann, appointed Captain 28th Regiment  
August 28, 1753. [Wounded September 13.]

Captain George Fletcher, appointed Captain 35th Regiment  
April 8, 1755. [Killed July 26.]

Captain Luke Gardiner, appointed Captain-Lieutenant 35th  
Regiment February 1756; Captain same regiment January  
24, 1758. [Wounded September 13.]

Captain Charles Ince, appointed Captain 35th Regiment  
February 24, 1756. [Reported as wounded in Gen.  
Wolfe's despatch September 2.]

(Captain Ince made an excellent drawing of the Entry of  
Louisbourg in 1758, which was published in 1759.)

Captain John Maunsell, appointed Captain 35th Regiment  
January 5, 1751; Major same regiment September 1761;  
Lieutenant-Colonel same regiment October 1762.

[Wounded September 13.]

Captain Samuel Gardiner, appointed Captain 47th Regiment  
December 1753. [Wounded September 13.]

Captain Thomas Smelt, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment  
June 1750; Captain same regiment March 20, 1758.

[Reported as wounded in Gen.  
Wolfe's despatch September 2.]

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 125

Captain William Edmestone, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment June 1755; Captain same regiment March 23, 1758.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.]

Captain George Byrd, appointed Captain 58th Regiment December 27, 1755. [Wounded September 13.]

Captain John Leland, appointed Captain 58th Regiment December 30, 1755; Major 98th Regiment January 1761.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.]

Captain John Nuttal, appointed Captain 58th Regiment December 26, 1755. [Wounded September 13.]

Captain Robert Brigstock, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment January 1756; Captain, February 1760.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.]

Captain Samuel Jan. Hollandt, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment 1756; Captain-Lieutenant, May 1757; Captain, August 1759; Major, 1770.

[Wounded September 13.]

Captain David Ochterloney, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment, Royal Americans, 1756; Captain, April 1759.

[Wounded July 31; died August 23.]

Captain John McPherson, appointed Captain 78th Regiment January 5, 1757.

[Wounded on or about July 26.]

Captain Thomas Ross, appointed Captain 78th Regiment July 1757.

[Killed September 13.]

Captain Hugh Cameron, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 1757; Captain, September 1759.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.]

Captain Simon Fraser, Sr., appointed Captain 78th Regiment January 11, 1757.

[Wounded September 13 and died soon after.]

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Captain Simon Fraser, Jr., appointed Captain-Lieutenant 78th Regiment September 1758; Captain, April 1759.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Captain John McDonell, appointed Captain 78th Regiment January 1757. [Wounded September 13.

(The two officers whose names follow belonged to the companies of grenadiers detached from the garrison of Louisbourg for service at Quebec.)

Captain Otto Hamilton, appointed Captain 40th Regiment June 1754; Major, November 1761; Colonel, 1770.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Captain John Cosnan entered the Army December 1745; appointed Captain 45th Regiment October 1755; Lieutenant-Colonel February 1762.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant James Leslie, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment June 9, 1758. [Reported as wounded in Gen.

Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant John Maxwell, Sr., appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment May 1756; Captain same regiment May 1760.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant John Maxwell, Jr., appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment September 1756. [Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Francis Mukins, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment March 30, 1756.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Robert Ross, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment September 1757. [Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Samuel Rutherford, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment September 1754; Captain same regiment September 1760. [Wounded August 10.



## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 127

Lieutenant William Skene, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment  
October 1757; Lieutenant same regiment December 1758.

[Wounded September 13.]

Lieutenant William Cooper, appointed Lieutenant 28th  
Regiment April 1756.

[Killed September 13.]

Lieutenant William Evans, appointed Lieutenant 28th Regi-  
ment March 1757. [Wounded September 13.]

Lieutenant Charles Ruxton, appointed Lieutenant 28th Regi-  
ment February 1756; Captain 35th Regiment 1762.

[Wounded September 13.]

Lieutenant William Hamilton, appointed Lieutenant 35th  
Regiment April 1756.

[Killed September 13.]

Lieutenant William Mason, appointed Ensign 35th Regiment  
February 1756; Lieutenant same regiment January 1758.

[Killed September 13.]

Lieutenant Richard Allen, appointed Lieutenant 35th Regi-  
ment February 1756; Captain same regiment October  
1760; Major same regiment December 1768.

[Wounded September 13.]

Lieutenant Theophilus Blakeney, appointed Lieutenant 35th  
Regiment April 1756; Captain same regiment, August  
1761.

[Reported as wounded in Gen.  
Wolfe's despatch September 2.]

Lieutenant John Cockburne, appointed Lieutenant 35th Regi-  
ment November 1756; Adjutant same regiment March  
1757.

[Wounded September 13.]

Lieutenant James Field, appointed Lieutenant 35th Regiment  
November 1756; Captain 44th Regiment June 1766.

[Wounded July 26.]

Lieutenant Charles Gore, appointed Lieutenant 35th Regiment  
February 1756; Captain same regiment June 1760.

[Twice wounded, September 13  
and previously.]

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Lieutenant Gabriel Maturin, appointed Lieutenant 35th Regiment April 1756; Captain 31st Regiment June 1767.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Henry Clements, appointed Lieutenant 43rd Regiment December 1755; Captain-Lieutenant same regiment March 1762.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Kenneth Matheson, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment March 1758; Lieutenant same regiment April 1759.

[Killed July 31.

Lieutenant William Edward Seymour, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment June 1755; Adjutant same regiment 1757.

[Killed September 13.

Lieutenant John Elphinstone, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment July 1755; Captain 74th Regiment October 1760.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Garnet Ewer, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment December 1756; Lieutenant same regiment May 1759.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant John Price Guinet, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment March 1758; Lieutenant same regiment April 1759.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Henry Henning, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment August 1757; appointed Lieutenant in the field.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant George Mountain, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment June 1755; Lieutenant same regiment December 1756.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Joseph Peach, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment June 1755.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Joshua Percival, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment July 1755.

[Reported as killed in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 120

Lieutenant John Hathorn, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment June 1755. [Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Thomas Webb, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment November 1755; Quarter-Master same regiment October 1754. [Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant John Grant, appointed Ensign 58th Regiment November 1755; Lieutenant same regiment January 1758; Captain-Lieutenant same regiment June 1762. [Twice wounded, September 13 and previously.

Lieutenant Horace Hayes, appointed Lieutenant 58th Regiment January 1756; Captain same regiment June 1762. [Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant David Kemptie, appointed Lieutenant 58th Regiment February 1756; Adjutant same regiment February 1756. [Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Walter Kennedy, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment January 1756; Lieutenant same regiment May 1757. [Reported as killed in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant George Archbold, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment January 1756; Lieutenant same regiment December 1756; Captain same regiment January 1772. [Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant James Calder, appointed Ensign 48th Regiment November 1755; Lieutenant 60th Regiment May 1757. [Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Peter De Witt, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment May 1757; Lieutenant on the field 1759. [Wounded about August 26; died soon after.

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Lieutenant Simeon Ecuyier, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment January 1756; Captain-Lieutenant February 1760; Captain same regiment April 1762.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Thomas Grandidier, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment January 1756; Captain-Lieutenant same regiment October 1770. [Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Henry Howarth, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment July 1758. [Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant James Jeffries, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment January 1756; Lieutenant same regiment March 1758. [Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant William Jones, appointed Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment May 1757.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Henry Peyton, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment May 1757; Captain 74th Regiment October 1760. [Wounded July 31.

Lieutenant Alexander Shaw, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment December 1756; Lieutenant same regiment June 1759. [Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant Charles Willington, appointed Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment January 1756.

[Reported as wounded during the campaign, in Gen. Monckton's despatch October 8.

Lieutenant Alexandre McDonell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment February 1757.

[Killed September 13.

Lieutenant Roderick McNeil, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 1757.

[Killed September 13.

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 131

Lieutenant Alexander Campbell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment May 1757; Captain same regiment October 1760. [Wounded September 13.]

Lieutenant Archibald Campbell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 1757; Captain same regiment April 1760. [Wounded September 13.]

Lieutenant John Douglas, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment June 1757. [Wounded September 13.]

Lieutenant Alexander Fraser, Sr., appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment July 1757. [Wounded September 13.]

Lieutenant Ronald McDonald, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 1757; Captain same regiment October 1759. [Wounded September 13.]

Lieutenant Charles McDonell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 1757; Captain-Lieutenant same regiment October 1759. [Wounded about July 21.]

Lieutenant Hector McDonell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 1757.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.]

(The following five officers were in the companies of grenadiers detached from Louisbourg.)

Lieutenant Humphry Jones, appointed Lieutenant 22nd Regiment September 1756.

[Killed September 13.]

Lieutenant Samuel Bradstreet, appointed Lieutenant 40th Regiment June 1755; Captain same regiment November 1761.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.]

Lieutenant Gilfrid Collingwood, appointed Lieutenant 45th Regiment March 1751.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.]

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Lieutenant Hugh Nevin, appointed Ensign 45th Regiment  
June 1755; Lieutenant same regiment March 1758;  
Captain same regiment September 1769.

[Wounded September 13.

Lieutenant John Pinhorne, appointed Lieutenant 45th Regiment  
May 1752. [Wounded September 13; died  
September 28.

Ensign Rigby, Surgeon's Mate, attached to the 15th Regiment,  
on the field. (A surgeon's mate ranked as an ensign.)

[Killed July 25.

Ensign Samuel Barker, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment May  
1759. [Reported as wounded in Gen.  
Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Ensign Edmond Worth, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment  
December 1758; Lieutenant same regiment April 1762.

[Reported as wounded in Gen.  
Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Ensign Essex Edgworth, appointed Ensign 28th Regiment  
March 1757; Lieutenant 12th Dragoons September 1763.

[Reported as wounded during the  
campaign, in Gen. Monckton's  
despatch October 8.

Ensign Wm. Henry Fairfax, appointed Ensign 28th Regiment  
November 1757.

[Wounded September 13.

Ensign Lewis Jones, appointed Ensign 43rd Regiment November  
1756. [Wounded September 13.

Ensign Walter Nugent, appointed Ensign 43rd Regiment  
April 1756; Lieutenant same regiment March 1760.

[Reported as wounded during the  
campaign, in Gen. Monckton's  
despatch October 8.

Ensign Samuel Dunlop, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment  
January 1759; Lieutenant same regiment May 1760.

[Wounded September 13.

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 133

Ensign Thomas Faunce, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment  
April 1759; Lieutenant same regiment February 1761.

[Wounded September 13.

Ensign Nicholas Tottenham, appointed Ensign 58th Regiment  
February 1758. [Killed September 13.

Ensign Thomas Denty, appointed Ensign 58th Regiment  
May 1759. [Wounded September 13.

Ensign Samuel Johnson, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment  
July 1758. [Died of wounds September 2.

Ensign Charles Cameron, volunteer, appointed on the field,  
Ensign 60th Regiment.

[Wounded September 13.

Ensign Richard Fahie, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment  
March 1758. [Reported as wounded during the

campaign, in Gen. Monckton's  
despatch October 8.

Ensign George Mackay, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment  
June 1759; Lieutenant same regiment March 1761.

[Reported as wounded during the  
campaign, in Gen. Monckton's  
despatch October 8.

Ensign William Snow Steel, appointed Lieutenant 60th  
Regiment June 1760.

[Wounded September 13.

Ensign Malcolm Fraser, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment  
June 1758; afterwards rose to the rank of Colonel.

[Slightly wounded September 13.

Ensign Alexander Gregorson, appointed Ensign 78th Regi-  
ment June 1758; Lieutenant same regiment May 1760.

[Wounded September 13.

Ensign James Mackenzie, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment  
May 1757; Lieutenant same regiment September 1759.

[Wounded September 13.

ENGINEERS.

Captain William Green, appointed Engineer-in-Ordinary with rank as Captain January 1758; appointed Sub-Director and Major September 1759.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Captain Adam Williamson, appointed Engineer-Extraordinary with rank as Captain-Lieutenant January 1758; Captain 40th Regiment April 1760.

[Reported as wounded in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Adolphus Benzell, appointed Lieutenant 1st Regiment February 1757; Engineer-in-Ordinary January 1759.

[Wounded September 13.

RANGERS.

Captain Benoni Danks. (See note, Vol. I. p. 196.)  
[Wounded 9th July.

Captain Lieutenant Armstrong.

[Wounded July 9; reported as killed in Gen. Wolfe's despatch September 2.

Lieutenant Meech.

[Killed on or about August 4.

Lieutenant Stephens.

[Wounded probably July 22.



## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 135

### LIST OF BRITISH OFFICERS KILLED, WOUNDED, AND PRISONERS AT QUEBEC

FROM APRIL 27 TO MAY 21, 1760.

[Based on the Return enclosed in Murray's letter to Pitt of May 25, 1760: Canadian Archives, M. 221, p. 116 (C.O. 5: 64; formerly A. & W. I. 99). The names have been identified by means of the Army Lists.]

John Maxwell, Sen<sup>r</sup>., appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment of Foot May 12, 1756. [Killed.]

William Cockburn, appointed Captain-Lieutenant 15th Regiment July 16, 1758. [Wounded.]

Francis Mukins, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment March 30, 1756. [Wounded.]

John Maxwell, Jn<sup>r</sup>., appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment September 1, 1756; Captain same regiment May 2, 1761. [Wounded.]

Andrew Cathcart, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment September 1757; Captain same regiment August 21, 1765. [Wounded.]

Thomas Winter, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment July 19, 1758. [Wounded.]

William Irving, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment July 29, 1758; Captain 47th Regiment May 6, 1767. [Wounded.]

John Lockhart, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment April 26, 1759. [Wounded.]

Joseph Moneypenny, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment October 6, 1757. [Wounded.]

Horace Pearce Barbutt, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment June 9, 1758. [Wounded.]

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- Thomas Mills, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment April 26, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Samuel Barker, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment July 22, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Henry Hamilton, appointed Lieutenant 15th Regiment September 2, 1756, and Captain same regiment October 30, 1762. [Wounded, Prisoner.]
- George Montgomery, appointed Ensign 15th Regiment July 29, 1758. [Killed.]
- Hunt Walsh, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel 28th Regiment February 2, 1759; Colonel 56th Regiment May 22, 1766. [Wounded.]
- John Dalling, appointed Major 28th Regiment February 2, 1757; Lieutenant-Colonel 36th Regiment December 4, 1767. [Wounded.]
- Joseph Capel, appointed Captain-Lieutenant 28th Regiment March 8, 1757. [Wounded.]
- Thomas Spann, appointed Captain 28th Regiment August 28, 1753. [Wounded.]
- James Mitchelson, appointed Captain 28th Regiment April 9, 1756. [Wounded.]
- Charles Tassell, appointed Lieutenant 28th Regiment January 22, 1753; Major same regiment June 17, 1767. [Wounded.]
- Francis Brown, appointed Lieutenant 28th Regiment April 9, 1756; Captain same regiment December 25, 1765. [Wounded.]
- William Phibbs, appointed Lieutenant 28th Regiment November 22, 1756. [Wounded.]
- Richard Gilmer, appointed Ensign 28th Regiment April 27, 1756. [Wounded.]
- John Sheppard, appointed Ensign 28th Regiment November 22, 1756; Lieutenant same regiment June 11, 1762. [Wounded.]
- Levin Beall, appointed Ensign 28th Regiment October 17, 1759. [Wounded.]

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 187

Charles Ince, appointed Captain 35th Regiment February 24, 1756. [Wounded.]

Lieutenant Brown. (Thomas and William Brown were Lieutenants in the 35th Regiment. William Brown was appointed Lieutenant July 21, 1757; and promoted to the rank of Captain in the regiment February 3, 1767.)

[Wounded.]

Cornelius Lysaght, appointed Ensign 35th Regiment January 24, 1758. [Wounded.]

Boughey Skey, appointed Captain 43rd Regiment May 2, 1751. [Wounded.]

David Maitland, appointed Captain 43rd Regiment March 21, 1758. [Wounded, Prisoner.]

Henry Clements, appointed Lieutenant 43rd Regiment December 10, 1755. [Wounded.]

Nicholas Lysaght, appointed Lieutenant 43rd Regiment December 25, 1758. [Wounded, Prisoner.]

Crank Maw, appointed Ensign 43rd Regiment November 22, 1756. (See note, Vol. II. p. 400.) [Wounded, Prisoner.]

John Hussey, appointed Major 47th Regiment March 19, 1758. [Killed.]

Thomas Archbold, appointed Captain 47th Regiment May 23, 1759. [Wounded, Prisoner.]

William Sheriff, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment January 25, 1755; Major and Quarter-Master-General in North America January 25, 1768. [Wounded, Prisoner.]

John Forster, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment July 4, 1755; Captain 46th Regiment December 25, 1765.

[Wounded.]

Charles Bassett, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment November 24, 1755. [Wounded.]

Garnet Ewer, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment May 23, 1759. [Killed.]

Henry Stratford, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment March 28, 1758. [Wounded.]

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- Thomas Gibson, appointed Lieutenant 47th Regiment June 9, 1758. [Killed.]
- William Ustick, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment June 9, 1758; Captain 7th Regiment December 25, 1765. [Wounded.]
- Thomas Handfield, appointed Ensign 47th Regiment May 23, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Sir James Cockburn, Bart., appointed Captain 48th Regiment March 22, 1758; Major same regiment March 4, 1769. [Wounded.]
- Theodore Barbutt, appointed Captain-Lieutenant 48th Regiment November 21, 1757. [Wounded.]
- Stephen Waterhouse, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment November 13, 1754. [Wounded.]
- Vere Royce, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment July 2, 1755. [Wounded.]
- Richard Crow, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment November 10, 1755. [Wounded.]
- Henry Moore, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment February 11, 1756. [Wounded.]
- James Campbell, appointed Ensign 48th Regiment August 23, 1758; Lieutenant same regiment June 15, 1760. [Wounded.]
- William Johnson, appointed Ensign 48th Regiment February 21, 1759; Captain same regiment February 25, 1768. [Wounded.]
- William Nicholson, appointed Ensign 48th Regiment July 20, 1758. [Killed.]
- Charles Davers, appointed Lieutenant 48th Regiment March 28, 1758. [Wounded, Prisoner.]
- Archibald Conway, appointed Ensign 58th Regiment 1759. [Killed.]
- William Snow Steel, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment June 20, 1760. [Wounded.]

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 139

- Donald McDonald, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment February 14, 1760. [Wounded.]
- John Young, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 60th Regiment April 26, 1757. [Wounded, Prisoner.]
- Rodolp Faesch, appointed Captain 60th Regiment December 27, 1755. [Wounded.]
- James Campbell, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment January 30, 1756. [Wounded.]
- Henry Charteris, appointed Captain 60th Regiment January 8, 1756. [Wounded, Prisoner.]
- Donald Forbes, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment February 11, 1756. [Killed.]
- George Faesch, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment February 15, 1756. [Wounded, Prisoner.]
- Alexander Grant, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment August 23, 1758. [Wounded.]
- Alexander Stephens, appointed Lieutenant 60th Regiment April 13, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Lewis Forbes, Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment. (A Lauchlan Forbes appears in the Army Lists as appointed Lieutenant in the 60th, April 14, 1759.) [Wounded.]
- Thomas Pinckney, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment December 12, 1756. [Wounded.]
- John Mackey, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment December 14, 1756. [Killed.]
- James Hill, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment August 23, 1758. [Wounded.]
- David Stewart, appointed Ensign 60th Regiment April 13, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Simon Fraser, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel 78th Regiment January 5, 1757 ; Colonel, February 19, 1762. (See note, p. 142.) [Wounded.]
- John Campbell, appointed Captain 78th Regiment January 9, 1757. [Wounded.]

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- Alexander Fraser, appointed Captain 78th Regiment September 15, 1758. [Wounded.]
- Alexander McLeod, appointed Captain 78th Regiment September 4, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Donald McDonnell, appointed Captain 78th Regiment January 12, 1757. [Killed.]
- Cosmo Gordon, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment July 24, 1757. [Killed.]
- Archibald Campbell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 23, 1757. [Wounded.]
- Hector McDonnell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 27, 1757. [Killed.]
- Donald McBean, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment January 28, 1757. [Wounded.]
- Alexander Fraser, Sen'., appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment February 12, 1757. [Wounded.]
- John Nairn, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment July 16, 1757; Major, October 13, 1761. [Wounded.]
- Arthur Ross, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment July 17, 1757. [Wounded.]
- Alexander Fraser, Jun'., appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment September 27, 1758. [Wounded.]
- Simon Fraser, Sen'., appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment June 18, 1758. [Wounded.]
- Archibald McAllister, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment July 23, 1758. [Wounded.]
- Alexander Fraser, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment July 22, 1757. [Wounded.]
- John Chisholme, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment January 17, 1757; Lieutenant, September 4, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Simon Fraser, Jun'., appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment September 25, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Malcolm Fraser, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment September 25, 1759. [Wounded.]

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 141

- Donald McNeil, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment October 17, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Alexander Campbell, appointed Lieutenant 78th Regiment May 7, 1757. [Prisoner.]
- Henry Monroe, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment July 23, 1757. [Wounded.]
- Robert Menzies, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment September 15, 1758. [Wounded.]
- Charles Stuart, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment September 25, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Duncan Cameron, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment September 25, 1759; Adjutant 43rd Regiment October 6, 1762. [Wounded.]
- William Robertson, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment October 17, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Alexander Gregorson, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment June 10, 1758. [Wounded, Prisoner.]
- Malcolm Fraser, appointed Ensign 78th Regiment: June 18, 1758. [Killed.]
- Charles McDonald, appointed Captain-Lieutenant 78th Regiment October 17, 1759. [Wounded.]
- John Goodwin, appointed Major of the Royal Artillery November 20, 1759; Lieutenant-Colonel November 1, 1762. [Wounded.]
- Thomas Heathcote, appointed Second-Lieutenant Royal Artillery January 4, 1758. [Wounded.]
- Alexander John Scott, appointed Second-Lieutenant Royal Artillery February 1, 1759. [Wounded.]
- John Davidson, appointed Lieutenant Fireworker Royal Artillery, February 8, 1758. [Wounded.]
- Benjamin Cock, appointed Second-Lieutenant Royal Artillery January 1, 1759. [Wounded.]
- Patrick Mackellar, appointed Major in the Engineers January 4, 1758. (See note, Vol. I. p. 225.) [Wounded.]

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Captain Hazen of the Rangers. (See note, Vol. I. p. 296.)

[Wounded.]

Alexander Cameron, appointed Captain 78th Regiment January 21, 1757. [Wounded by an Explosion.]

John Makilwain, appointed Ensign 48th Regiment August 18, 1759. [Wounded by an Explosion.]

*Note.*—[See p. 139.] Simon Fraser, sometime Master of Lovat, was the eldest son of Simon, twelfth Lord Lovat, executed in 1747. He was born October 19, 1726. When the Jacobite rebellion broke out, in 1745, he was studying at the University of St. Andrews. He was summoned by his father to lead the clan. After some hesitation, he became active in the cause, and was included in the Act of Attainder of 1746. He surrendered, and was kept a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle from November, 1746, to August, 1747, when he was permitted to reside in Glasgow during the king's pleasure. In 1750 he was granted a full and free pardon. At the beginning of the Seven Years' War he obtained leave to raise a corps of Highlanders, which became the 78th, or Fraser's Highlanders. His commission as colonel was dated June 5, 1757. He took his regiment to America, and was at the siege of Louisbourg in 1758, and in the expedition to Quebec, under Wolfe. He was wounded at Montmorency, July 31, 1759, and again at the second battle of the Plains, April 28, 1760. He appears to have been still serving in America in 1761. In 1762 he was a brigadier-general in the British forces sent to Portugal. He was appointed to a command in the Portuguese army with the temporary rank of major-general. At the peace of 1763 the regiment was disbanded and Fraser put on half-pay. By a special Act of Parliament his family estates were restored to him in 1774. At the outbreak of the American War of Independence, Fraser, then a major-general, raised another regiment of Highlanders, but did not accompany them to America. Fraser was returned to Parliament for the county of Inverness, when in Canada, in 1761, and represented the constituency until his death. He married a Miss Bristo, an English lady, who survived him. He died in Downing Street, London, February 8, 1782.



STATEMENT OF THE FRENCH LOSSES AT THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS  
(From the *Journal des Campagnes du Chevalier de Lévis*: *Collection de Lévis* I., 218-219.)

ETAT DE LA PERTE DU 13 SEPTEMBRE.

M. de Montcalm, lieutenant général, commandant en chef.  
Le sieur de Senezergues, brigadier et lieutenant-colonel de la Sarre.  
Le sieur de Pontbriant, lieutenant-colonel de Guyenne.

OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED

Régiments.	Officiers tués.	Soldats.	Officiers prison- niers du 13 ou pris à l'hôpital de Québec.	Soldats et cou- lés prenant les posés en France.	Officier de la garnison de Québec ou passé en France.	Total des soldats.	Total des officiers qui manquent.	Officiers blessés présents.
La Sarre.	Senezergues, Bourmout, lieu- tenant.	33	La Ferté, cap. B. Savarnin, cap. B. Lenoir, lieutenant B. Laubais, lieutenant B.	89	Lestang, cap. Flavien, lieutenant.	128	8 officiers 2 morts	Desjardins, lieutenant P. d'Arbois, lieutenant Lafontaine, lieutenant
Royal-Roussillon.		9	Bellocombe, aide- major De Brau, lieutenant B. Palmier, cap. B.	71	d'Orellan, cap. de Fontaine, lieutenant	8	5	
Languedoc.	Marillac, cap.	41	Matussi, cap. Cassas, lieutenant B.	96	L'Arbois, cap. Cousy, lieutenant d'Arènes, lieutenant Jeanes, aide- major	67	7 lieutenant 1 mort	
Guyenne.	Fourbaine Cormier, cap. de Grave, cap. Restaurand, lieutenant. Dupont, lieutenant. Fouquet, lieutenant.	23	Pardens, cap. Chambreau, cap. d'Arques, lieutenant B. Loyon, lieutenant.	64	Bugat, cap. Bunessat, lieutenant	87	12 d.	4 u.
Bearn.	Kerrieux, cap. Mauberge, cap.	31	Jourdeau, cap. Fignery, lieutenant. Tourville, cap. lieutenant.	72	Daubrepey, cap. Gusson	103	7 lieutenant 1 mort	
La Marine.	La Périère, cap. Saint-Ours, cap.		Beaujour, cap. Lignery, cap.					

LIST OF FRENCH OFFICERS KILLED AND  
WOUNDED AT QUEBEC

FROM APRIL 27 TO MAY 17, 1760.

[From the *Journal des Campagnes du Chevalier de Lévis*, pp. 270-272.]

*Liste des officiers tués ou blessés au combat devant Québec,  
le 20 avril.*

MM. de Bourlamaque, brigadier. Partie du gras de jambe  
emportée par un boulet de canon.

Régiment de la Reine :

Montreuil, capitaine des grenadiers. Blessé à mort  
Dufai, enseigne. Le bras cassé.  
Chevalier Desnos, lieutenant. Blessé légèrement.  
Saint-Martin, lieutenant. " "

La Sarre :

Deguinier, lieutenant. Tué.  
Palmarole, capitaine de grenadiers. Blessé à mort.  
Duprat, capitaine. Blessé à mort.  
Forcet. Blessé à mort.  
Duparquet, premier capitaine. Coup de feu à la jambe.  
Beauclair, capitaine. Coup de feu au bras.  
Méritent, capitaine. Idem.  
Chevalier de Savournin, lieutenant. À la poitrine, très  
dangereusement  
Paonnet, sous-lieutenant de grenadiers. Idem, mort.  
Lanaudière, lieutenant. Coup de feu à la jambe.  
Premillac, lieutenant. Le pied cassé.  
Lassus, lieutenant. Blessé légèrement.  
Grance, lieutenant. "  
Chevalier de Laubanie. "

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 145

### Royal-Roussillon :

De Rouin, capitaine. Coup de feu à la jambe.  
Bonnevieuille. " " "  
Léonard, lieutenant. Coup de feu au bras.  
Beausadet, sous-lieutenant de grenadiers. L'épaule fracturée, mort.  
Destore, capitaine de grenadiers. Blessé légèrement.  
Trémoy, capitaine. Blessé légèrement.  
Lefebvre, capitaine. Blessé légèrement.  
Grandjean, lieutenant. " "

### Languedoc :

Senneterre, lieutenant. Blessé légèrement.  
d'Ernanger, lieutenant de grenadiers. Tué.  
d'Alayrac, lieutenant de grenadiers. Blessé légèrement.

### Guyenne :

Morambert, lieutenant. Blessé à mort.  
Montagnet, capitaine. Coup de feu au bras.  
Launay, capitaine de grenadiers. Blessé légèrement.  
de Blot, capitaine. Blessé légèrement.  
Bellot, capitaine. " "  
Chassignolet. " "

### Berry :

Villemonter, capitaine de grenadiers. Tué.  
Valentin, aide-major. Tué.  
Carery, lieutenant. Tué.  
Trécesson, lieutenant-colonel de bataillon. Blessé à mort.  
Darseins, capitaine. Blessé à mort.  
La Marlière, lieutenant. " "  
La Pelouze, aide-major. Coup de feu à la poitrine.  
Coespel, lieutenant. Jambe cassée dangereusement.  
Du Guermé, lieutenant. " " "  
Vaudaran, lieutenant en second. Jambe cassée dangereusement.

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Pélessier, lieutenant de grenadiers. Le bras percé d'un coup de feu.

Laudance. Le poignet cassé.

Sigoin, capitaine. Coup de feu à la cuisse, dangereux.

Leclerc, lieutenant. Idem.

Dallet, lieutenant. Coup de feu au bras.

Trévis, lieutenant-colonel comdt le régiment. Blessé légèrement.

Pressac, capitaine. Blessé légèrement.

Cambray, capitaine. „ „

Ménard, capitaine. „ „

Beauchamp, capitaine. „ „

## Béarn :

Vassal, capitaine. Blessé à mort.

Soloignac, lieutenant. „ „

Tolabelle. „ „

D'Alquier, lieutenant-colonel, commandant. Coup de feu au côté.

Monredon, capitaine de grenadiers. Coup de feu aux deux cuisses, dangereux.

Pinsan, lieutenant. Coup de feu à la cuisse, dangereux.

Fay, lieutenant. Idem.

Jacob, lieutenant. Coup de feu à la poitrine.

Malartie, aide-major. Blessé légèrement.

Blénard, capitaine. „ „

Ségla, capitaine. „ „

Raimond, lieutenant. „ „

Meley, lieutenant. „ „

Jourdain, lieutenant. „ „

## *Troupes de la Colonie, compagnies franches de la Marine.*

De Boucherville, enseigne. Tué. Blessé à mort.

Saint-Martin, capitaine de grenadiers. Blessé à mort.

## OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED 147

Laronde, capitaine de grenadiers. Blessé à mort.  
 Varennes, lieutenant. " "  
 Corbières, lieutenant. " "  
 Du Buisson, capitaine. Coup de feu à l'épaule.  
 Mézières, capitaine. Coup de feu aux deux jambes.  
 D'Hugues, capitaine. Coup de feu à la tête, légèrement.  
 D'Aillebout, sous-lieutenant de grenadiers. Coup de feu à la jambe, légèrement.  
 Hiché, enseigne. Coup de feu au côté.  
 Chevalier de la Corne, commandant de bataillon. Blessé légèrement.  
 Vassan, commandant de bataillon. Blessé légèrement.  
 Saint-Leu, commandant les sauvages. " "  
 Loumier, capitaine. Blessé légèrement.  
 Le Borgne, capitaine. " "  
 La Noix de Noyelle, lieutenant. Blessé légèrement.  
 Sabrevoix, lieutenant. Blessé légèrement.  
 Chevalier de la Perrière, enseigne. Blessé légèrement.  
 Herbin, enseigne. Blessé légèrement.

### *Officiers des Milices.*

Réaume, commandant le bataillon de Montréal. Tué.  
 Lefèvre. Tué.  
 Pr vot de Sicors. Tué.  
 Gaudet. La main fracassée.  
 Neveu. À la mâchoire, dangereusement.  
 Julien de Rivière. Blessé.  
 La Promenade. "  
 De Cary. "  
 Maugé de Sauniers. "  
 Ménars. "  
 Irtubis. "  
 Pierre Lefèvre. Blessé aux bras.  
 Auge. " "  
 Chevalier. " "

*Etat des officiers tués ou blessés pendant le siège.*

La Sarre : Boischatel, aide-major de la Sarre. Tué.

Languedoc : Pradel, lieutenant. Tué.

Béarn : Barot, capitaine. Mort de ses blessures.

Colonie : De Bonne, capitaine. Tué.

N. de Mélonèze, lieutenant. Mort de ses blessures.

La Reine : d'Herz, aide-major. Blessé légèrement.

Languedoc : La Justonne, lieutenant. La jambe coupée.

Béarn : Mazeray, capitaine. Blessé légèrement.

Colonie : Melonèze, capitaine. Idem.

Herbin, lieutenant. Idem.

Artillerie : du Carny, lieutenant. Idem.

IV

THE CAPITULATION OF FORT FRONTENAC

[Enclosed in Abercromby to Pitt, November 25, 1758: Canadian Archives, M. 209-2; C.O. 5: 50; formerly A. & W. I. 87-2.]

CONDITIONS AUXQUELLES MONS<sup>r</sup> DE NOYANT, CHEVALIER DE L'ORDRE ROYAL ET MILITAIRE DE ST. LOUIS, LIEUTENANT POUR LE ROY DE LA VILLE DES TROIS RIVIERES, COMMANDANT POUR LE ROY AU FORT DE FRONTENAC PROPOSE DE LE RENDRE À SA MAJESTÉ BRITANNIQUE.

1<sup>e</sup> Le dit Sieur de Noyant promet de rendre le Fort de Frontenac au Colonel Bradstreet, Commandant des Troupes d'Angleterre généralement avec toutes ses Dépendances.

2<sup>e</sup> Que les Officiers et Soldats de la Garnison, et autres Hommes qui se trouvent actuellement ce Poste, resteront Prisonniers de Guerre, jusqu'à ce que il y est accordé entre Mons<sup>r</sup> Le Marquis de Vaudreuil et Mons<sup>r</sup> le General Anglais pour en faire l'Echange.

3<sup>e</sup> Que les Malades et blessés seront soignés aux Frais du Roy de la Grande Bretagne.

4<sup>e</sup> Qu'il garantira de toute Insulte de la Part des Soldats Anglois et Sauvages, les Officiers, Soldats et autres Espece de Personne telles qu'elles soient qui se trouvent actuellement dans ce Fort.

5<sup>e</sup> Mons<sup>r</sup> le Colonel permettra que les Ornaments et les Vases sacrés de la Chapelle soient emportés dans l'Equipage de l'Aumonier, et promet le Sieur de Noyan faire remettre fidèlement toutes les Munitions de Guerre et de Bouche, Ustinciles qui se trouvent actuellement dans les Magazins du dit Fort.

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6<sup>e</sup>. Le dit Sieur Noyant demande qu'il soit fourni à Lui, à ses Soldats et au Reste des Personnes qui sont avec luy dans le Fort des Voitures pour transporter leur Baggage, et leur donner les Commodités pour le Voyage.

*À Frontenac le 27<sup>e</sup> Aoust 1758.*

Le Colonel Bradstreet vû les Infirmités de Mons<sup>r</sup> de Noyant, Commandant dans le Fort luy a accordé de retourner à Montreal et de prendre quatre Hommes, ainsi qu'à Madame du Vivier, Madame Barollon avec quatre hommes, ainsi qu'à d'autres Femmes de ce Fort sans Hommes.

Noyan JNO. BRADSTREET.

Mons<sup>r</sup> de Noyan c'est engage de procurer pour luy l'Exchange du Colonel Schuyler ou d'un autre s'il ce trouvent que le Colonel Schuyler le soit déjà.

Après la Capitulation faite le Colonel Bradstreet a permy à tous les Francois qui estoient dans le Fort Frontenac de partir pour Montreal en Canada sur la Promesse que M<sup>r</sup> de Noyan a faite de faire parail nombre de Person et Calité le plutost que faire ce pourât et de les faire rendre au Fort George.

*Au Fort Frontenac le 27<sup>e</sup> Aoust 1758.*

JNO. BRADSTREET. Noyan.

*Copy.*

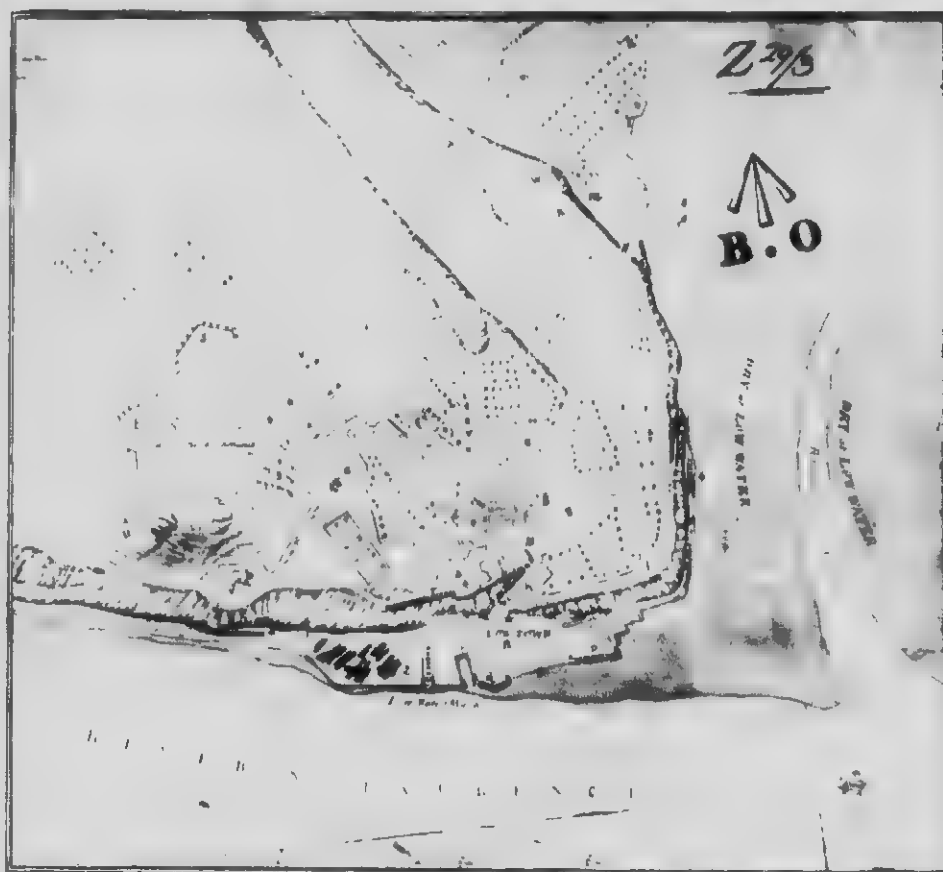
*Endorsed.*—La Capitulation du Fort Frontenac

Aoust. le 27<sup>e</sup> 1758.

in M. G. Abercromby's (separate)

of Nov<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1758.





# PLAN OF THE TOWN OF QUEBEC

By J. M. K. ... Report, Vol. I, ...  
 ... (No. 1) ...

## REFERENCES

1. ...	m. ...	Additions not expressed	...
2. ...	...	in the original Plan ...	...
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REPORT ON QUEBEC

■

MAJOR PATRICK MACKELLAR.

[From the original in the possession of the editor.]

*Office of Ordnance, 12th of July, 1757*

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

&

Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Gentlemen

I take the Liberty to present your HONOURS with a Plan of Quebeck, and a short Discription [*sic*], of what (as an Engineer) I thought most worthy of Attention, concerning the Place and the Navagation to it.—

The Plan is copied from a printed one of Bellins Published in Charles Voix, which is the best I have seen; I have Enlarged it considerably to a scale of English Measure, and have made such additions as I found wanting in the Places I had Access to see.—

The Discription is made from my own Observations and what Intelligence I could pick up, during the Short Oppertunity I had.—

I would not presume, to trouble Your Hon<sup>rs</sup>; with the Copy, of a Printed Plan, unless I thought it more Complete and Expressive than the Originall—& which with the Discription, I think gives a clearer Representation of the whole, than any thing I have mett with, As such I present them to Your

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Honours and hope they may be Usefull in case of any Attempts that way.—

I am with great Respect  
Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Gentlemen,

Your Hon<sup>rs</sup>

Most Obedient & Most Host [*sic*] Humble Ser.

PAT MACKELLAR  
Eng<sup>r</sup>. in Ordinary.

To The Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Board.

A DISCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF QUEBECK IN  
CANADA, ACCOMPANIED WITH A PLAN.

The place consists of what they call the High and the Low Town. They are parted from one another by a Cliff or Precipice of Rock, which is a Natural Fortification to about two thirds of the High Town

The Cliff begins about a Mile up the River and is quite Inaccessible where it surrounds the Town excepting in the Communications Under Mentioned.

CLIFF

The Greatest height of the Cliff is a little above and below the Redoubt of Cape Diamond, where it must be at least 200 feet high, it falls from thence in several Eassey Breaks, to the Elbow (I) at the North End, where it is about 80 or 90 feet. It falls from this elbow to y<sup>e</sup> westward with a Gradual Descent, to the Gateway (II) where it may be about 40 or 50 feet, but about the Gateway dies into a quick Slope, from this Gateway it runs into the Country to the Westward and Branches into Different Breaks a little way without the Town

## HIGH TOWN

The High Town from those Differences of Heights has a Considerable Declivity from South to North, and still a greater from South East, to North West, it has a great Deal of vacant Ground, and the Buildings a few Excepted are so retired from the Edge of the Precipice that it cannott be Easily Damaged by Either Shott or shells from Shipping, and the Precipice upon the East side is so High, that Ship Guns can scarce have Elevation Enough to clear it, or if they do the Shott must fly Over—

## LOW TOWN

The Low Town on the East side is a fair Object for both Shott and shells, from Shiping the Buildings are in General, High and Pretty Close, this is by much the Richest part of the whole, being Cheifly taken up with the Dwellings, Warehouses, and Magazines of the Principal Merchants which are reckon'd, of Considerable Value and some of them are said to be the Kings—

This part of the Town can be hurt by Land Batterys, only from the hills, on the South Side of the River, and they are at a Distance of 1300 or 1400 yards—

The Remainder of the low Town above the Dock and on the North West side, consists only of Stragling houses, Inhabited by poor people, Excepting the Intendants and a few houses near it, in the Dock Yard they build 70 Gun Ships—

## COMMUNICATIONS

There are two Principal Communications between the two Towns, one upon the East side Marked (10) and the other upon the North West side Marked (11).

The former of these Marked (10) leads from the Publick Landing Place, (Marked 3) thro the Low Town, and leads to



the High Town, Either by keeping the Bishops Palace Mark'd (h) upon the right, w<sup>ch</sup> is the main Branch of it, or to the 57 Gun Battery, (Mark'd l) by leaving the Bishops Palace, upon the left, this Communication has at present no Fire upon it, either to flank or scowr it, but being iNarrow Crook'd and Steep may be Easily secur'd—

The Communication (Mark'd 11) leads from the Country, the Intendant's House &c through a Gateway, straight forward into the High Town or by the first turning upon the left within y<sup>e</sup> Gateway to the West End of the Battery (l) behind the Nunnery Garden, this Gateway has something of a Flank Fire on both sides, but seems to be too much under the Fire—

There is a Break in the Cliff beyond y<sup>e</sup> 8 Gun Batt<sup>ry</sup> (Marked 4) where four or five people may pass Abreast, it is pretty steep, and may be Easily secured—

Between this Break and the Communication (10) there are two more places, where Men Climb up, Singly, but they must be very Carefull, there is Likewise a narrow rugged path from the Dock Yard, up to the Redoubt of Cape Diamond.

I think there are none of these Communications to be forced, if there is any tolerable Resistance made, three of them are liable to be Surprised, Viz<sup>t</sup> 10, 11, and that by the Eight Gun Battery, but they Communicate with one another, only at Low Water, and the Principal ones 10, & 11, are at half a Mile Distance—

#### DEFENCES TO THE WATER

The Defences to the River or Anchoring Ground are as follows—Viz<sup>t</sup>—

From the High Town	Guns
Battery (r) . . . . .	14
Battery (l) consisting in all of 57 Guns, but to the	
Anchoring Ground points Only . . . . .	36

# REPORT ON QUEBEC

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From the Low Town	Guns
Battery (o) by some Accounts Consists of 16 Guns but by others more to be Depended on only of . . .	4
Battery (q) . . . . .	8
Battery (p) . . . . .	12
	<hr/>
Total . . .	76
	<hr/>
	[sic]
	<hr/>

Upon Occasion there may be more Guns Mounted towards the Anchoring Ground in several Places Particularly along the Wharf of the Dock Yard.

The other Defences, to the Water on the North West side are as follows viz<sup>t</sup>

Remainder of the Battery (l) . . . . .	21
Battery (4). . . . .	8
	<hr/>
Total . . .	29

The Battery (l) has room for a great many more Guns than are there at present

The use of this Defence is to Scowr the Bay or strand along the Rivulet of St Charles at Low water, this Bay is dry and all over passable the Bottom being a flatt Rock, thinly cover'd in some places, with a Little Mud, Sand and Gravel—

## DEFENCES TO THE LAND

The Defences to the Land I can speak of only from the Plan and a Little imperfect Intelligence—

The Plan appears to have been taken about the Year 1740, and I have not heard that there have been any Additions to the Fortifications since that Time—

The Inner Line which runs quite across from the Redoubt of Cape Diamond (b) to the Hangmans Redoubt, (w) is a



Wall of Masonry three or four feet thick, and seems to have been Design'd only against Small Arms, probably against, the Incursions of the Savages—

This Line I saw in severall places and have had a Little Information about it, and think it can make but Little resistance against Cannon; it has a Ditch only before some of the faces, where the Ground seems to Obstruct the Defence of the Opposite Flanks—

The outward Line (s, t, u,) seems to be of a more Modern Construction, and Probably part of a Design intended to be Cannon Proof, and Continued across to the Bay, this Line stands upon the highest Ground without a Ditch, and by the Information I had Continues no farther, than the Plan represents it—

The Lines marked (old Intrenchments) have Probably been thrown up, upon first settling the Country, without the Directions of Engineers, and seems to have been Demolish'd where they Interfer'd with the Designs that were afterwards Executed—

The Redoubt (v, w, x,) seems to be of Little Consequence, but must Probably be Silenced before a Beseiger Comes within them.

The only works within the Inner Line are the Redoubt or Citadel (b) the Cavilier (c) and the Castle, or Chateau (a).—

The two former I can give no Account of, but was told they were at work upon them when we were there, they must however be of Little Consequence, by their Smallness, they neither of them Scowr any of the Streets, they stand high, and were probably intended to defend the Ground without the Line.—

The Castle (a) Likewise call'd a Citadel seems Only Intended for the Defence of the Governor Generals Palace, and is a Sort of a Court to it, taken up at present with Guns, Mortars and there Carriages there are a few small Arsenals round it

It is a Wall of Masonry four or five feet thick, and Scours only a street or two—

I am persuaded from all the Circumstances I could learn, that the place must be weak, towards the Land, and the Difficulty they made of our seeing it seems to confirm it, there is however one Circumstance much in its favour, which is that they can have Intelligence of a fleets appearing in the Gulf and time to bring the whole Force of Canada to their Assistance, before that Fleet, can probably get up the River—

#### ATTACK BY SHIPPING

From some of the Foregoi Circumstances I think it will appear that Shipping can Annoy the Low Town Only and can do little or no Prejudice to the High Town, but supposing the Low Town Destroy'd or in Possession of the Beseiger he is still as far from being Master of the High Town as he was before, he Can make no Lodgment in the former that he can keep Possession off. nor take any steps that shall facilitate his Getting into the Latter, and the Ships if within Cannon reach Lay Under a great Disadvantage as they are Exposed to the fire of a Considerable Batt<sup>y</sup> (1 of 36 Guns) to which they Can do no hurt, but if it is thought worth while to destroy the Low Town, for its own Sake, I should think it most adviseable to do it by Shells Only, and at a distance beyond the reach of Cannon Shott—

#### ATTACK BY LAND

An Attack by Land is the Only Method that promises Success, against the High Town and in all Probability it Could hold out but a very few Days against a Sufficient Force properly Appointed—

There is no judging with any Certainty where the Attacks

may b shortest and Easiest Carried on, without having seen the Ground, which I am told is very Uneaven and Rockey very thin of Soil and the Rock Extreemly hard—

The Weakest part by the Plan, seems to be the half Bastion (8) and the Bastion to the Left of it, but the Ground least favourable, and, were [*sic*] the Ground appears best Viz<sup>t</sup> round the Gardens about the Bastion (S) the works seems to be the Strongest which they were Undoubtedly aware of. but the Choice of an attack Cannott Long remain a Doubt, after the Place has been Properly reconiterd—

If the Beseiger once Gets into the Town there is nothing of Consequence, that Can afterwards oppose him, The Works (a, b, c,) are the Only things that Can, and they have been already Discribed as far as I know about them—

It will be very Proper in Case of Getting in, to take Possession Imediately of the Buildings, round the Great Square, Particulary [*sic*] the Jesuits Convent (e) and the Parish Church (g) The 57 Gun Battery (l) ought to be secured, at the same time and its Guns made use of, in Case of Necessity against the above works, which will save Time and Trouble—

#### NAVIGATION OF THE RIVER ST LAURENCE

Tho the navigation of the River ought not to be undertaken without the Assistance, of a Pilott well Acquainted with the head Lands, Currents & Anchoring Places, yet I am far from thinking it to be as Difficult, and Dangerous as the French would have the World believe. In the Passage down the the [*sic*] River we mett Only with two Difficulties worth Mentioning and they are Observ'd by Charles Voix, and in a Chart of the River Lately Publishd by M<sup>r</sup> Jeffery's—

The first was in the Traverce or Crossing at the Lower End of the Isle of Orleans, were [*sic*] the Channel is very Narrow and some what Crooked, and not to be Attempted but with

Enough of Day Light, and a fair Wind, there are Directions in Jeffery's Chart for Sailing through it—

The next Difficulty was at the Island of Coudres, were [*sic*] there is a whirl Pool, that forms to Different Currents According as it happens to be Tide, of Flood or Ebb and these Currents carry the Vessels inevitably Ashore, Unless they have fair wind Enough to stem them,

I remember Charles Voix mentions severall other Difficulties in the account of his Voyage up the River, particularly [*sic*] some round the red Island, and Contrary to the received Opinion he says there is no Harbour in the Island of Anticosti. Tho his Account is worth perusing it is not to be Supposed, Compleat as he was no Seaman and never made the Voyage but once

The Baron Dieskau and his Aid de Camp Mons<sup>r</sup> Berneir taked [*sic*] at New York of an Invention, the French had Discoverd, for Infallibly Destroying Ships Going up the River — AT QUEBECK we found this Invention to be w<sup>t</sup> they Call (Radeaux a Feu,) Fire Rafts of which there is a Store provided, They are Loggs of Timber tyed together by the Ends so as to form a Chain, and Coated over with a Strong Composition, they are to be set on Fire when the Ships are Near and floated off from some of the Islands down the Stream, and Clinging round the Ships Bows set them on fire, tho this Invention does not seem to threaten much Danger, Especialy if the Boats are out, it is adviseable to be Prepar'd against its taking Effect—

#### LANDING THE TROOPS

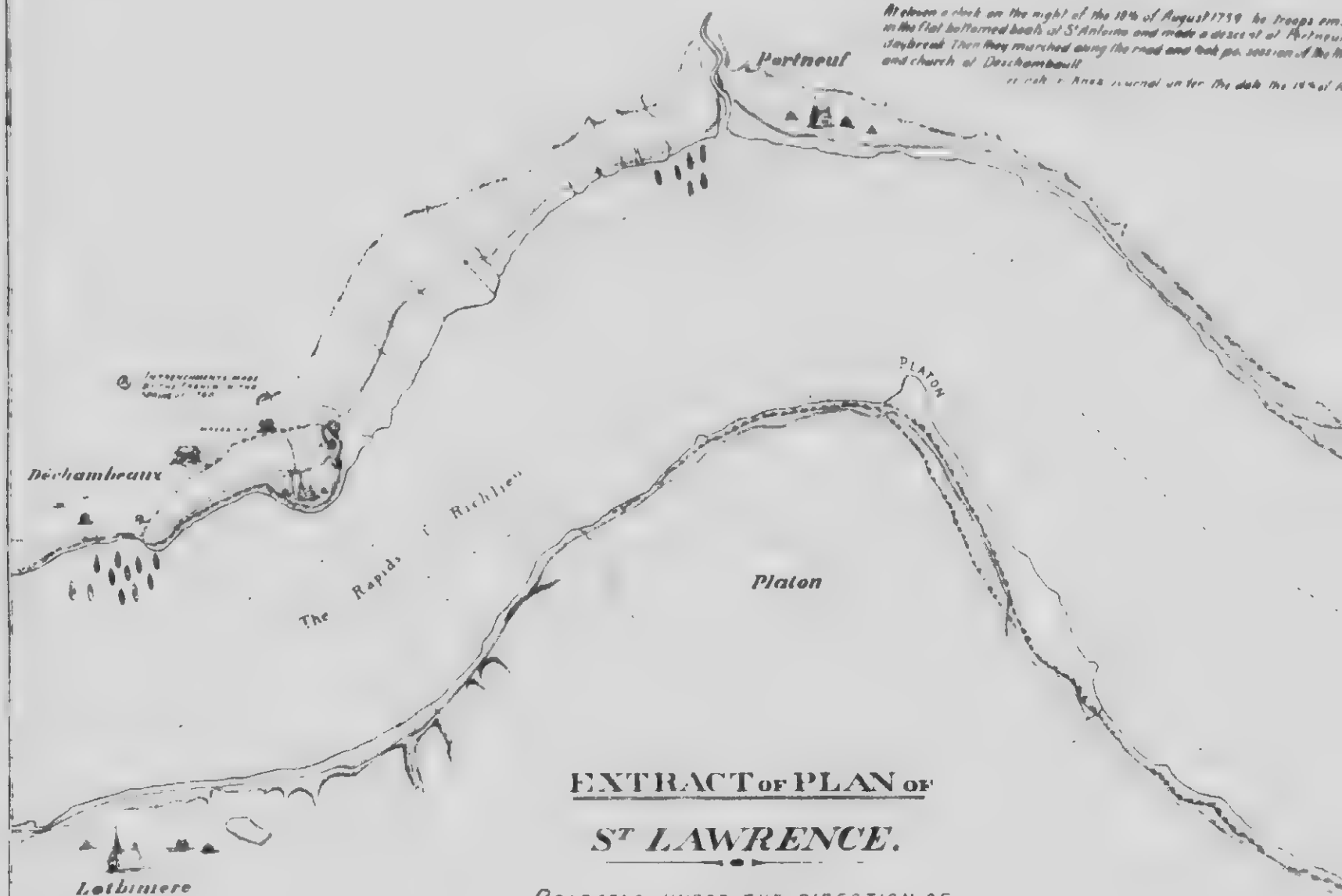
It will be an advantage to Land the Troops on the Town Side of the River, which is the North, but I am very doubtful whether their Landing, within a proper distance of the place, Can be Coverd by the Shiping, it is said there is not Water Enough in the North Channel of the Isle of Orleans for vessels of Burthen, and above the Island that it is shallow Water along the North shore a good way out—

For these Reasons I should think it most adviseable to Land upon the Island itself and make it a Rendezvous, the ships may Get to a Proper Anchoring Ground Either in the South Channel or between the Island and Town, and I think Measures, may be taken, for making a Descent, or Landing from thence in an Easier and better Manner than from On board it will Probably make the Enemy more Doubtfull were [*sic*] the Landing is Intended, which may be a Very Considerable advantage—

I should think it very Comodious to keep Possession of this Island while the Troops remain there, but to this, the Great Extent of it may be an Objection—

PAT MACKELLAR Eng<sup>r</sup> in Ord<sup>r</sup>





At eleven o'clock on the night of the 18th of August 1759, the troops arrived in the flat bottomed boats at St. Armand and made a descent at Portneuf. Daybreak. Then they marched along the road and took possession of the and church of Dochambeaux.

See also the Anna's Journal under the date the 18th of August.

# EXTRACT OF PLAN OF

## ST LAWRENCE.

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

GENERAL MURRAY.

1760.

SEVERAL NOTES HAVE BEEN ADDED TO THIS PLAN FOR THE  
PURPOSE OF ILLUSTRATING THE TEXT OF ANNA'S JOURNAL

SEE GENERAL MURRAY MAP SECTION C.

site here on July 1, 1759 under the command of Captain Anson.  
 The British were defeated and the French returned to the  
 site on July 11.

The British suffered very little damage to  
 their ships after the bombardment. There were some soldiers and  
 officers who were killed or wounded. After spending the  
 night on the beach, the British moved on to the next day.  
 The French were defeated and the British returned to the  
 site on July 11. The British were very well trained and the  
 French were not. The British were the best of the British  
 and the French were the best of the French. The British were  
 the best of the British and the French were the best of the French.  
 The British were the best of the British and the French were the best of the French.

Journal of Jean-François de La Roche, Cure of Quebec









# VI

## PAPERS RELATIVE TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL MURRAY'S EXPEDITION ABOVE QUEBEC, AUGUST, 1759.

[From General Murray's Letters, Canadian Archives, M. 98, D.]

(1) *Journal, August 5 to 8. (Incomplete; perhaps a portion of the succeeding document.)*

Sunday y<sup>e</sup> 5th of August march'd with y<sup>e</sup> Detachment to Gorehams post, arrivd there about one of the morning of the 6th but the boats in place of going there went to y<sup>e</sup> Sutherland, it was therefore one o'clock afternoon before we could embark in the boats, we reach'd the Ships about 6 o'clock. in my way I made a faint to land at St. Mitchel where they were intrenchd and Sufficiently on their guard. At Cape Rouge they have taken post I can't say I observ'd any intrenchment Tuesday the 7th. the Ships moved up as far as Cape Anthony, the Pilots would not take even y<sup>e</sup> cats farther, As our Ships moved up, a considerable body of foot kept pace with us, they appear'd to be regulars, and this day the dragoons and some foot took post on the hight of St. In<sup>o</sup>. I determin'd to push up with y<sup>e</sup> boats Sloops, & floating batteries to de Chambau and Attack y<sup>e</sup> magazines while the Admiral was employ'd in sounding & making himself master of the Channel, gave therefore orders for y<sup>e</sup> necessary provisions &c for this enterprize but the current ran so strong that it was put off till Thursday.

Wednesday the 8th in y<sup>e</sup> morning I perceiv'd three of the french floating batteries at point au Tremble, the Admiral

agreed, that it was very practicable to cut them off and drive them on Shore : he made a disposition for that purpose of the two Sloops, and the two floating batteries, & I determin'd to land the troops at low water, a little above point au Tremble the only place within reach free from precipices, & wood, this with a view to bring the Enemy to fight in defence of their floating batteries. In attempting to land with the light infantry supported by Amherst's Regt. & ye other Batt<sup>n</sup> the Highland comp<sup>y</sup> got first on Shore, but a ledge of rocks prevented the others to push where they were order'd. As the Enemys fire was pretty smart tho' at too great a distance, & we saw them powering from all Sides to reinforce ye body defending the shore, I imputed the retardment, the Sunken rocks had occasioned, to fear in the other troops, and therefore in hopes to animate y<sup>e</sup> rest I instantly joind the Highlanders the others were not long in following me, but alas we found ourselves in the same Situation you was in near the Montmoranci, viz an impassable Depth of water betwixt us and the Shore, we were galled much in our attempts to ford it, but when I found it impracticable from y<sup>e</sup> then flowing Tide I beat y<sup>e</sup> retreat, which was obey'd with less confusion than I could have conceiv'd. Some of the boats gave us notable and [? aid] on this occasion with their Sweevels, & the behaviour of men & officers cannot be too much commended. As this Disappointment was animating to the Enemy, & discouraging to our troops, & the numbers they had at that time Shew'd was what I thought I could cope with especially as I could be reinforced by the floating batteries & one of the Sloops, (the other had run on Shore in pursuit of y<sup>e</sup> french batteries) I resolv'd to wait 'till near high water, & then to attack them without any interruption to my boats. I alter'd my former disposition by ordering Amhersts to land on the right betwixt y<sup>e</sup> windmill & y<sup>e</sup> Church of p. de Tremble, hoping by this to cut of the retreat of Enemy, or at least to make the Debarkation very easy for the other two Corps. but I was mistaken

they were every where in force, & carefully conceal'd, till we were too farr engaged.

Their Regulars were drawn up to y<sup>e</sup> right of & behind y<sup>e</sup> Church, and the Canadiens marchd down in Crowds from all the adjacent woods. Our boats were soon thrown into confusion, many of the Seamen killed, & wounded which obliged most of the boats of the light infantry to retreat, or ly an unactive object to y<sup>e</sup> Enemys fire. When I saw this, & that they had lined the wind mill, houses, Church & occupied the whole front where Amhersts could land that the Tide was now beginning to ebb, and would soon leave the boats dry, I gave it up and order'd the troops on board.

Endorsed, Papers relative to Gen<sup>l</sup> Murrays Expedition above the Town.

(2) *Report of Brigadier-General Murray to Major-General Wolfe, August 28. (Incomplete.)*

the only fortification was a very large Square Stockade with a good Banket in the front of the Church for any thing I know it never was meant for more than the Curés Garden, it was large enough however for a thousand Men, commanded the road, and from its Situation was strong enough to be defended against any number of men without Cannon. I immediately sent Col<sup>o</sup> Young to examine the Magazine which I visited in person. I gave him orders to search for papers and to burn all the Officers baggage. which agreeable to your orders he did, and reported to me that it consisted of that the Cloathing spare Camp Equipage Arms &c of the Regular troops in Canada, and of the Marquis de Montcalms & Monsieur de Levis personal baggage, there were many explosions whence I conclude some of the Casks in the Cellar were gun powder or Cartridges. The Col<sup>o</sup> for what reason I know not did not examine them. the rest of the day was employ'd in destroying all that could be of service to the Enemy, and in skirmish-

ing with the french foot Dragoons, and Indians, who never came near enough to hurt a man of my detachment tho they fired constantly upon Us for two or three hours. I impute this to the dread they had of the English Musket which I found necessary to use in their way at a distance & am confident by so doing I have saved the lives & limbs of a great many of your troops.

Tides are more apt to attempt any thing you may think proper against y<sup>e</sup> north shore from Cape Rouge to Jake Quartier the proscribed bounds for our Shipping, from what I have seen & know Canadiens will never attack Us but in woods, or when We are in your boats, their arms & order will not admit of it. have therefore [*torn*] wisht I could have had it in my power to attack any of their intrencht posts, You are the Judge if it will be prudent after the Cheques we have met with to attempt them without a few light pieces, and a small reinforcement, a landing from Gentlemans bay may be stole at any time but it must be in the night, . . . at high Water the impossibility of doing it under l . . . cover of your Ships & the nature of the Shore makes that necessary. & the Detachment & your humble servant will be ready to obey your commands the night of the 2<sup>d</sup> of September the soonest the tide will answer.

JA: MURRAY.

Endorsed: To Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe. The Report of the Detachment above Quebec under y<sup>e</sup> Command of Brigadier Murray August y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup>.

(3) <sup>but</sup> As I judge [*sic*] am of Opinion I could not answer attacking any of their intrencht posts this side Jac Quartier with the small detachment I have, without artillery, or any thing to cover my retreat, You are the best judge if it will be proper I with the Detachment will chearfully and zealously attempt to execute your orders.

(4) *Letter of Brigadier-General Murray to Rear-Admiral Holmes, August 11, 1759.*

St Antony, August y<sup>e</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1759

SIR,

I just now receiv'd a message from you by Cap<sup>t</sup> Hamilton, viz that you would go five miles further up the River if I thought it consistant with the safety of the Troops encamped here.

I understand the principal bussiness of the Ships, and Troops under your command & mine to be that of the Distruction or taking the Enemys Ships which are up the River You are best Judge if that is now practicable if you think it is I am confident no time should be lost in attempting it. and the Troops shall embarke this afternoon or to morrow and follow the Ships, whose protection is not necessary while we are on Shore. The Second object is the Distruction of the french Magazines at de Chambau, that is a land operation, I know not only from the intelligence I have got from y<sup>e</sup> prisoners, but from ocular demonstration that the Enemy are stronger than I am, and that therefore what I attempt against them must be by surprize I never can surprize them by moving with the fleet or in the day their motions on Shore must be quicker than yours by the tide, I did therefore yesterday propose to You that we should remain where we are 'till the tides will admit of going up to Chambau in the boats in the night, and that the fleet might follow y<sup>e</sup> next Tide by which time the Stroke at Chambau would be struck you then seemed to relish my proposal so much that till I receiv'd the Message by Cap<sup>t</sup> Hamilton I understood is [*sic*] was settled betwixt us that it should be put in Execution, but reflection or perhaps some intelligence you have got has made you alter your opinion if so I am as I said before ready to follow with

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the troops and you need not loose a moment on their account  
I have the honor to be Sir

Your most obedient &  
most humble Servant

JA: MURRAY

copy in Murray's handwriting

endorsed : Copy of a Letter to Admiral Holmes

S<sup>t</sup>. Antoine

Aug<sup>th</sup>. 11<sup>th</sup> 1759



## VII

### DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SURRENDER OF QUEBEC.

[From *Mémoire du Sieur de Ramezay*: *Canadian Archives*, C<sup>1</sup> I. 105-3 (otherwise F. 105<sup>ter</sup>): transcript from the original in the *Archives Nationales* (*Archives des Colonies, Canada, Correspondance Générale*, 1764).

This *Mémoire* was published under the direction of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1861.]

- (1) Instructions of the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the Sieur de Ramezay, the 13th September, 1759.
- (2) Letter of the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the Sieur de Ramezay, the 13th September, 1759.
- (3) Another letter of the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the Sieur de Ramezay, the 13th September, 1759.
- (4) Petition of the citizens of Quebec to the Commandant and higher officers of the city.
- (5) The Council of War held by the Sieur de Ramezay on the 15th September, 1759.

- (1) COPIE DU MÉMOIRE DE MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL, POUR SERVIR D'INSTRUCTION MONSIEUR DE RAMZAY, COMMANDANT DE QUEBEC, ECRITTE AU QUARTIER GÉNÉRAL, LE 13 SEPTEMBRE 1759.

La position que l'ennemi occupe audessus de Quebec malgré les puissans efforts que nous venons de faire pour l'en déposter devenant de moment en moment encore plus inac-

cessible par les retranchemens qu'il a faits, ce qui joint à l'échec que nous avons eu, et au deffaut de subsistances dont nous manquerons totalement, nous met dans l'absolue nécessité de faire nôtre retraite n'ayant point d'autre parti à prendre pour nous maintenir dans la Colonie.

Nous prévenons Monsieur de Ramezay, qu'il ne doit pas attendre que l'ennemi l'emporte d'assaut, ainsi si-tôt qu'il manquera de vivres, il arborera le drapeau blanc et enverra l'officier de la garnison le plus capable et le plus intelligent pour proposer sa capitulation conformément aux articles cy-après que nous appuyons de nos observations en marge.

#### ARTICLE PREMIER

Demander les honneurs de la Guerre pour sa garnison, et qu'elle soit ramenée à l'armée l'armée en sureté par le chemin le plus court.

*Nota.*—Ce n'est pas le cas d'insister, il faut consentir à être prisonnier de guerre pour être transporté, officiers, soldats et matelots en France, à la charge de n'y pas servir jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient échangés.

#### ARTICLE 2

Que les habitants soient conservés dans la possession de leurs maisons, biens, effets et privilèges.

#### ARTICLE 3

Que les dits habitans ne pourront être recherchés pour avoir porté les armes à la deffense de la ville, attendu qu'ils y ont été forcés, et que les habitans des Colonies des deux couronnes y servent également comme milices.

*Nota.*—Si l'ennemi fait quelque difficulté, consentir qu'il ajoute au premier article, jusqu'à ce que la possession du Canada soit déterminée par un traité de paix et luy faire entendre que c'est l'intérêt de S. M. B. dans le cas où el'

## THE SURRENDER OF QUEBEC 169

voudroit le garder. Si le général demande le désarmement des habitants et qu'ils promettent de ne plus servir contre S. M. B. y consentir.

### ARTICLE 4

Qu'il ne sera pas touché aux effets des officiers et habitants Doit être  
accordé.  
absents.

### ARTICLE 5

Que les dits habitants ne seront point transférés ny tenus Doit être  
accordé.  
de quitter leurs maisons jusqu'à ce qu'un traité définitif entre S. M. E. C. et S. M. B. ayant réglé leur état.

### ARTICLE 6

Que l'exercice de la religion catholique apostolique et romaine sera conservé, et que l'on donnera des sauvegardes aux maisons des ecclésiastiques, religieux et religieuses particulièrement M. l'Evesque de Quebec, que rempli de zèle pour la religion, et de charité pour le peuple de son diocèse désire y rester constamment, exercer librement et avec la descendance que son état et les sacrés mystères de la religion catholique apostolique et romaine exigent, son autorité épiscopale dans la ville de Quebec lorsqu'il jugera à propos, jusqu'à ce que la possession du Canada ait été décidée par un traité entre S. M. E. C. et S. M. B.

*Nota.*—Prouver que c'est l'intérêt de S. M. B. dans le cas où le Canada lui resteroit, et qu'en Europe toutes les conquêtes que font les divers souverains, ils ne changent point l'exercice de religion, qu'en tant que ces conquêtes leur restent.

### ARTICLE 7

Que l'artillerie et les munitions de guerre seront remises de bonne foy et qu'il en sera fait et dressé un inventaire.

*Nota.*—Si l'ennemi refuse l'inventaire, l'article à ne pas disputer.

## ARTICLE 8

Qu'il sera usé envers les malades, blessés, commissaires, aumôniers, médecins, chirurgiens, apoticaire, et autres personnes employées au service des hopitaux conformément au traité d'échange du 6 février 1759, convenu entre leurs M. E. C. et B.

*Nota.*—Article nécessaire et insister quand même la garnison se rendroit prisonnière de guerre.

## ARTICLE 9

Qu'avant de livrer la porte et l'entrée de la ville aux troupes anglaises, leur général voudra bien remettre quelques soldats pour être mis en sauvegarde aux églises, couvents et principales habitations.

## ARTICLE 10

Qu'il sera permis au lieutenant de Roy, commandant dans la ville de Quebec, d'envoyer informer le Marquis de Vaudreuil, Gouverneur Général de la Reddition de la Place, comme aussi que ce général pourra écrire au Ministre de France pour l'en informer.

## ARTICLE 11

Que la présente capitulation sera exécutée suivant sa forme et teneur, sans qu'elle puisse être sujette à inexécution sous prétexte de représailles ou d'une inexécution de quelque capitulation précédente.

*Nota.*—Le général anglois traittera peut être cet article d'inutile. Il faut luy répondre modestement qu'il est d'une précaution convenable pour obvier à toute difficulté au reste s'il y en apporte ce n'est pas un article à s'opiniâtrer.

Fait à nôtre Quartier Général le 13 Septembre 1759.

Signé DE VAUDREUIL.

Pour copie collationnée conforme à l'original.

Signé DE RAMEZAY.

(2) COPIE DE LA LETTRE DE MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS  
DE VAUDREUIL, ECRITE AU QUARTIER GÉNÉRAL LE  
13 SEPTEMBRE 1759 À 6 HEURES DU SOIR.

A Monsieur de Ramezay.

J'ay reçu Monsieur les deux lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire par lesquelles je vois votre attention d'observer la position de l'ennemy, elle luy devient d'instant en instant plus avantageux, ce qui joint à d'autres motifs, me met dans la nécessité de faire ma retraite ces motifs sont détaillés dans l'instruction que vous trouverez cy jointe à laquelle je vous prie de vous conformer avec tout le zèle que je vous ait toujours connu pour le service du Roy lorsque les circonstances l'exigeront, du reste je ne puis que m'en rapporter à vous et à votre amour pour la patrie. Je vous donnerai de mes nouvelles demain.

Vous connoissés l'attachement sincère avec lequel j'ay l'honneur d'être Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

Signé VAUDREUIL.

Pour copie collationnée conforme à l'original.

Signé DE RAMEZAYE.

(3) COPIE D'UNE AUTRE LETTRE DE MONSIEUR  
LE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL, ECRITE LE 13 7<sup>me</sup>

Monsieur de Ramezay.

J'ay reçu Monsieur, toutes vos lettres, vous avez vu par celle que j'ai eû l'honneur de vous écrire et l'instruction qui y étoit jointe, le parti que je suis obligé de prendre, en égard aux circonstances, ainsi je ne puis que m'en rapporter à tout ce que je vous ai marqué. Comme je pars dans le moment je

vous prie, de ne plus m'écrire dès ce soir. Je vous donnerai de mes nouvelles demain.

Je vous souhaite le bonsoir.

Signé DE VAUDREUIL.

Pour copie collationnée conforme à l'original.

Signé DE RAMEZAY.

(4) COPIE DE LA REQUÊTE DES BOURGEOIS DE  
QUEBEC PRÉSENTÉE AUX COMMANDANT ET OFFICERS,  
MAJORS DE LA VILLE DE QUEBEC.

Messieurs les Commandant et Officers, Majors de la Ville de  
Quebec.

Le lieutenant général civil et criminel de cette ville et Maire d'Icelle, Jean Claude Panet, notaire Royal et Procureur du Roy commis de la dite ville, Jean Eachet négociant et syndic des négociants de la dite ville, et autres bourgeois et citoyens d'icelle et marchands forains soussignés, ont l'honneur de vous représenter Messieurs, qu'il falloit un événement aussi fâcheux et décisif que celui du treize pour intimider les citoyens de cette ville et leur donner lieu à penser à leur conservation et à celle de leurs biens, jusqu'à ce fatal jour, un bombardement de soixante trois jours, ne les avoit point intimidés, les veilles et un service fatigant ne les avoit point rebutés, si des vivres médiocres avoient affoiblis leurs forces, le courage et l'espérance de triompher de l'ennemi le relevoit; enfin la perte actuelle de leurs biens même ne les touchoit point, ils étoient insensibles à tout, si ce n'étoit au désir de conserver la ville cette flatteuse espérance étoit soutenue par une armée qui les couvroit qui leur laissoit le passage libre et qui leur assurait la communication des vivres, mais malheureusement pour eux, elle ne subsiste plus et ils ne voyent qu'avec peine la plus sensible que les trois quarts de leur sang, rependu n'empêcheroit point l'autre quart de tomber sous le joug de l'ennemi pour devenir les victimes de leur fureur.

Quel spectacle pour cette petite portion de voir leurs femmes et leurs enfans immolés à leur rage ! ces habitans infortunés n'ont d'autre ressource que de rendre leur joug le moins dur qu'il leur sera possible, ce qu'ils vont avoir l'honneur Messieurs, de vous prouver par des raisons aussi simples que solides.

#### PREMIÈRE RAISON

Vous n'ignorez point Messieurs, que nous n'avons de vivres dans cette ville à fournir à mi-ration pour huit jours ; le compte exact que vous vous en êtes fait rendre nous l'assure.

#### DEUXIÈME RAISON

La communication des vivres qui pouvoient être estinés en partie pour la subsistance des cytoyens de cette ville nous est interdite, et ne peut être utile qu'au reste de l'armée, qui ne nous couvre plus ; quelle dure condition de tomber sous le joug de l'ennemy en luy demandant à manger le jour de sa soumission dans le tems qu'il est lui même peut être réduit à se retrancher.

#### TROISIÈME RAISON.

Le peu de troupes réglées et de citoyens exténués qui restent dans cette ville, la majeure partie en ayant diserté depuis le jour du treize pour se retirer dans les campagnes n'est point suffisant pour en garder surement l'enceinte avec d'autant plus de raison que nous avons deux parties de la ville à découvert, celle le long du cap aux diamants qui n'est fermée que par des pieux, partie voisine du terrain où est retranché l'ennemi, celle du Palais dont il est le maître des dehors, n'y a-t-il pas tout lieu de craindre à tous momens que l'ennemy puissant en nombre, soit par force ou par ruse ne se trouve dans le cœur de la ville le fer à la main, immoler sans distinction de qualité, d'âge et de sexe tout ce qui se présentera sous ses coups.

Enfin le tems presse d'obtenir une capitulation honorable, l'ennemy flatté d'une espérance de continuer ses conquêtes et de

pouvoir s'assurer une récolte pour nous faire vivre, eux-mêmes rendra nôtre sort plus doux, au lieu qu'en reculant sans espérance de pouvoir réussir nous ne ferons qu'augmenter sa fureur.

Jettés donc Messieurs, des yeux de compassion sur le reste, tachés de les conserver pour leurs femmes, et leurs enfants, conservés même ceux et celles qui sont renfermés dans cette ville. Enfin sauvés leur le peu qu'il leur reste de l'incendie, il n'est point honteux de céder quand on est dans l'impossibilité de vaincre. C'est ce que les citoyens de cette ville se flatent de vous avoir démontré, Messieurs, et ils espèrent de votre humanité que vous ne voudrés pas les exposer aux rigueurs d'un assaut et de la famine, signés Daine, Panet, procureur du Roy, Eachet syndic de Commerce, Pierre Jehannes, Ch. Morin, Boisseau, Voyés, Messieurs Riverin, Dubreuil, Cha. Cosseau, Larcher, Cardeneau, Formel, Meynardie jeune, Moreau fils, Monnier, Gautier, J. Lassale, L'Evesque, Fremont, Grellaux, Lée, Boisseu, Jean Monnier, et Malroux.

Pour copie collationnée conforme à l'original.

Signé DE RAMEZAY.

(5) COPIE DU CONSEIL DE GUERRE TENU PAR  
MONSIEUR DE RAMEZAY DE QUEBEC.

Aujourd'huy, quinze du mois de Septembre mil sept cent cinquante neuf. Monsieur de Ramezay Lieutenant pour le Roy au Gouvernement de Quebec, ayant jugé nécessaire d'assembler le Conseil de guerre des principaux officiers qui composent sa garnison, pour délibérer sur les moyens de deffense de la Place de Quebec bombardée et canonée depuis le 12 Juillet dernier et investie du treize du mois de septembre, après la perte d'un combat et la retraite de l'armée qui couvroit la place; et après avoir fait lecture des ordres de Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil Gouverneur général, il a été verifié que cette place peu susceptible de deffense étant fermée en partie



d'une simple palissade auroit pû par son artillerie et ses munitions de guerre, résister quelque tems aux efforts de l'ennemy si la partie des vivres s'étoit trouvée aussi abondante, mais les états produits par le comis du Munitionnaire général, et les recherches exactes faites chez les différents particuliers de la ville ont prouvé qu'il ne restoit en vivres de toute espère qu'environ quinze ou seize mille rations, les dittes rations réduite à la moitié et même au quart pour nourrir plus plus de six mille bouches, dont deux mille deux cent combattants, miliciens, ou matelots, deux mille six cent femmes, ou enfants, mille à douze cent hommes aux hopitaux, employés, communautés d'hommes et de femmes ou prisonniers de guerre.

D'après cet exposé Monsieur de Ramezay président en sa qualité de Lieutenant pour le Roy dans la Place a requis Messieurs le Chevalier de Bernetz Lieutenant colonel d'Infanterie, le Chevalier Doms Delestang de celles, Daurillan, Daubrepy de St<sup>e</sup> Vincent, Deparfourn, de Bigat, de Marcel capitaine d'Infanterie, Messieurs de Piedmont, de Lusignan, capitaine d'artillerie, de Cerry, et de Pellegrin capitaine de port. Monsieur de Joannès capitaine ayde major au régiment de Languedoc, Major de la Place de donner leur avis par écrit pour décider sur le parti à prendre dans la conjoncture présente lesquels ont opinés comme il suit.

Vu l'exposé du Conseil de guerre et les raisons qui ont obligé Monsieur de Ramezay de l'assembler, je ne vois point d'autre parti à prendre que de tâcher d'obtenir de l'ennemy la meilleure capitulation qu'il sera possible à Quebec ce 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé      PELLEGRIN.

Vu le manque total de vivres, étant sans aucune espérance de secours, mon sentiment est de remettre la Place, et d'en sortir avec le plus d'hommes que nous pourrons à Quebec ce 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé      DAILLEBOUST CERRY.

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L'investissement de la Place fait, les batteries de l'ennemi au moment de jouer, sans espoir de secours, l'armée qui nous couvroit s'étant repliée, comme nous en pouvons juger par le mémoire instructif de Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil à Monsieur de Ramezay, menacé de famine sous deux jours, j'opine qu'il est tems de composer avec l'ennemy pour pouvoir obtenir des conditions honorables qu'il nous refuseroit s'il étoit instruit du manque de vivres où nous nous trouvons à Quebec ce 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé LUSIGNAN, fils.

De réduire encore la ration et pousser la deffense de la Place, jusqu'à la dernière extremité à Quebec les 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé PIEDMONT.

D'après l'exposé de Monsieur de Ramezay, le seul article des vivres me détermine d'opiner qu'il n'est guère possible d'attendre une plus grande extrémité pour tâcher d'obtenir de l'ennemy la capitulation la plus honorable possible tel est mon avis à Quebec ce 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé MARIET.

Vu l'extremité où la Place se trouve réduite pour les vivres, mon avis est de demander à capituler à Quebec ce 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé BIGART.

Vu les raisons cy-dessus exposées et prouvées et après avoir réduit la garnison de cette place à la plus petite ration mon avis est de capituler à Quebec ce 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé PARFOURN.

Vu l'exposé qui nous assemble, le dénombrement des vivres, la quantité de bouches qui est dans cette place investie de toutes parts. Je conclus qu'il est à propos d'obtenir de

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nos ennemis, une capitulation aussi avantageuse qu'il sera possible. A Quebec ce 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé ST. VINCENT.

Vu l'exposé et le peu de vivres, je conclus à capituler le plus honorablement qu'il sera possible à Quebec le 15 Septembre 1759.

Signé DAUBREPY.

L'extrême disette de vivres où est la place, l'impossibilité d'en recevoir, et de très mauvaises fortifications délabrées m'oblige à opiner qu'on obtienne au plutôt une capitulation honorable aux armes du Roy, et dans laquelle les troupes réglées soient libres d'aller rejoindre leurs corps à Quebec ce 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1759.

Signé DAURILLANT.

Vu le peu de vivres qui sont dans la Place, nous devons tâcher de faire une capit ion honorable à Quebec ce 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1759.

Signé DE L'ESTANG DE CELLE.

Sur le compte qui a été rendu, le Conseil de guerre, assemblé, la disette de vivres où se trouve la Place, mon avis est de faire des propositions à Quebec ce 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1759.

Signé LE CHEVALIER DOMS.

J'opine attendu la disette des vivres qui nous manquent totalement de capituler aux conditions d'obtenir du général anglois, la meilleure capitulation et la plus honorable à Quebec le 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1759.

Signé LE CHEVALIER DE BERNETZ.

Vu l'état des vivres qui prouve qu'il ne peut y avoir de vivres que pour six à sept jours dans la place, en réduisant la ration au quart et qu'en faisant sortir même les femmes et enfans, cela ne pourroit prolonger que de peu de jours, la

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reddition de la place, mon avis est qu'après avoir fait sortir de la ville un détachement choisi d'environ six cent hommes plus ou moins pour rejoindre et renforcer l'armée, le reste pris par préférence sur les Miliciens de la ville et gouvernement de Quebec, capitule pour obtenir les instructions de Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil,<sup>1</sup> les conditions les plus honorables à Quebec le 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1759.

Signé JOANNÈS.

Vu les instructions que j'ay reçues de Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil, et la disette des vivres prouvée par les états à moy donnés et recherches que j'ay fait faire, je conclus à tâcher d'obtenir de l'ennemy la plus honorable capitulation à Quebec ce 15 7<sup>bre</sup> 1759.

Signé DE RAMEZAY.

Pour copie collationnée conforme à l'original.

Signé DE RAMEZAY.

<sup>1</sup> Pierre-François de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnal, was born at Montreal in 1704, the son of Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, and Louise Elizabeth de Joybert. His father was Governor of Canada from 1703 to 1725. The younger Vaudreuil, known first under the name of Cavagnal, entered the army, and became captain in 1715, major in 1726, and was made a Knight of St. Louis in 1730. Three years later he was appointed Governor of Three Rivers, and in 1742 of Louisiana, in both of which situations he was very popular. He became captain in the Royal Navy in 1746, and succeeded to his father's title in 1748. In 1755 he was elevated to the high position of Governor-General of Canada, being the first and only Canadian-born to attain that honour. He was also the last Governor under the French régime. His administration saw the brilliant victories of Montcalm, with whom he quarrelled, and the malversations of Bigot, whom he did not check. By the capitulation of Montreal, 1760, Canada became British, and in October Vaudreuil went back to France, where his capitulation was disapproved as premature, and unsatisfactory in its terms. He was even accused of having participated in the frauds and peculations of Bigot and his clique, and was imprisoned at the Bastille from January 21, 1761, to January 27, 1764, but was acquitted at the trial.

Vaudreuil, who had married, in Canada, Jeanne Charlotte Fleury de la Gorgendière, widow of François Verrier, seigneur de Rousson, had his *hôtel* in the Rue des Deux Boules, parish of St. Germain d'Auxerrois. His wife died in the autumn of 1763. Vaudreuil seems to have resided in Paris up to the time of his death, which took place there on August 4, 1778.







## VIII

### MÉMOIRES SUR LA DÉFENSE DE QUÉBEC, PAR LE MARQUIS DE MONTCALM.

[From the *Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis*, edited by the Abbé Casgrain, vol. iv. pp. 168-170, 177-180.]

31 mai 1759.

Le salut de la colonie dépend principalement du succès d'un combat. Toutes nos vues doivent donc se porter à ne pas diviser nos forces et à ne pas faire des travaux inutiles, qui ne sauroient être achevés, qui fatigueroient trop le soldat, qui ne sauroient être gardés, ou, s'ils l'étoient, affoibliroient trop l'armée.

J'ajouterai à ce premier principe incontestable, que notre grande attention doit être sur les moyens de passer la rivière Saint-Charles pour aller au-devant de l'ennemi, et sur ceux de repasser celles du Cap-Rouge et de Jacques-Cartier, dans le cas d'un événement malheureux. D'après ces deux principes, voici les ouvrages les plus importants et les plus pressés à faire, et auxquels il faut employer tous les bras possibles, sans perdre un moment, et distribuer les divers objets non seulement à MM. les ingénieurs et officiers d'artillerie; mais aux officiers particuliers capables d'exécuter :

1° Travailler aux ponts sur les trois rivières de Saint-Charles, le Cap-Rouge et Jacques-Cartier;

2° L'ouvrage pour couvrir la tête du pont;

3° Arranger les deux bâtiments dunkerquois et y établir des batteries;

4° Employer le plus de bras qu'il sera possible pour fermer de son mieux la haute et la basse-ville. On convient que la



basse-ville ne sera jamais bien fermée; mais au moins il faut qu'elle en ait l'apparence pour en imposer à l'ennemi et lui en rendre l'attaque difficile et meurtrière;

5° Mettre toutes les batteries en état et se borner pour ce qui est de la basse-ville aux pièces qui y sont actuellement;

6° Fournir le plus de Canadiens maniant la hache que l'on pourra à la construction, pour achever la batterie flottante, les bateaux portant du canon, les chaloupes carcassières et les brûlots et cajeux.

Il faut dès ce soir faire le détail de tout ce qu'on peut fournir d'ouvriers, tant des troupes de terre que de celles de la colonie et des Canadiens, et les employer dès après demain avec les officiers, et ne songer à commencer aucun ouvrage que ceux-là ne soient finis.

Ces ouvrages une fois parachevés, on pourra employer toutes les troupes et Canadiens à faire une redoute à l'entrée de la rivière Saint-Charles, et un retranchement à tous les endroits de la dite rivière qui sont guéables. Tout autre ouvrage me paroît inutile dès qu'on ne peut se flatter d'avoir le temps ni les moyens de faire tous ceux qui avoient été projetés. Il faut seulement s'occuper d'une bonne formation de troupes de la colonie, des moyens d'avoir quelques pièces de campagne et de quoi conduire les munitions à la suite des troupes.

Ces objets remplis, M. le chevalier de Lévis, avec les officiers de l'état-major, ira leur marquer le camp de guerre déterminé ce matin sur les hauteurs de Beauport et voir d'en préparer les communications, et il faudra attendre les ennemis avec autant de tranquillité que de courage.

A l'égard des opérations maritimes, il faut décider la question des frégates.

J'estime que deux au-dessus de Québec, dans la partie de Sillery, feront très bien.

Disposer d'avance les cajeux, les bateaux armés, etc. Si l'on avoit des chemises souffrées, on en pourroit faire usage,

dès à présent qu'ils sont à l'ancre et qu'ils s'en doutent moins, vu notre éloignement.

Tel est l'avis que j'ai l'honneur de proposer.

MONTCALM.

Fait à Québec, le 31 mai 1759.

28 juin 1759.

L'avant-garde des ennemis est maintenant à quinze lieues de nous. Nous ne savons pas ce qu'ils ont en arrière qui peut être joint d'un moment à l'autre. Notre armée ne sera pas rassemblée et en état de combattre avant quinze jours. Si les ennemis viennent avant, qu'est-ce qui peut faire notre salut ? Ce ne sera pas la défense de la ville : ce sera donc le succès des brûlots et des cajeux. D'après cela mon avis est : De réduire l'artillerie aux cent travailleurs que nous leur donnons de nos soldats, et que l'artillerie se presse de mettre du canon sur la branche droite du quai de l'ancienne construction ;

Que le génie se contente de cinquante Canadiens maniant la hache, avec les charpentiers qui les conduisent actuellement, sans y en mettre davantage, le travail qu'ils font ne pouvant jamais être que pour obtenir une espèce de capitulation pour la place, l'armée battue ;

Que les dunkerquois soient coulés aux endroits indiqués avec la plus grande diligence et garnis d'artillerie ; que l'on emploie tous les bras aux opérations maritimes et que, pour cet effet, on rende à la rade ses matelots, et que l'on envoie de suite les Canadiens, à mesure qu'ils arriveront, pour faire les cajeux avec le sieur Courval.

A l'égard des ponts absolument nécessaires sur les rivières Saint-Charles, le Cap-Rouge et Jacques-Cartier, besogne longue, je les simplifierois au moyen de bacs ou radeaux qu'on tireroit avec la cinquenelle, d'autant que le passager assure l'avoir mesuré cet hiver sur les glaces, et que la rivière Saint-Charles a cent et quelques toises de largeur.

Pour cet objet, M. de Pontleroy donneroit les bois qu'il

avait destinés à des blindages, dont il n'est plus temps de s'occuper, et d'autres bois, si on en trouvoit dans la ville, à des particuliers.

Mettre nos frégates en état de combattre le plus tôt possible. Le régiment de Languedoc travaillera de suite à faire un ouvrage pour couvrir les bacs de la rivière Saint-Charles; M. de Pontleroy le conduira.

Envoyer des partis par terre avec des Canadiens et sauvages. Si on n'a point d'officiers canadiens pour les conduire, j'offre MM. de La Rochebeaucourt, Calan et autres officiers des troupes de terre qui ne demandent pas mieux en leur donnant des Canadiens pour guides.

Je propose de mettre en vigie le Sieur Duserre, capitaine malouin, avec une lunette, à la pointe de l'île d'Orléans ou autre lieu que M. Pellegrin indiquera; il établira en conséquence la communication par des signaux.

M. Le Mercier doit songer à faire charger ses bombes mettre ses batteries en état et à avoir une disposition nécessaire de canonniers et de bombardiers, pour se porter de suite au service des batteries en cas d'alerte, ainsi que l'état nécessaire des hommes à prendre dans la rade. D'ailleurs, il faudroit attacher un officier de la rade uniquement occupé de la partie des artifices, et, s'ils on besoin de bras, on leur en donnera.

On pourra employer à cet ouvrage tous les tambours, comme il est d'usage dans les places assiégées, en en réservant deux pour le service de la place.

M. Dumas doit dès aujourd'hui ranger par compagnies tout ce qui est en état de se porter en avant ou de combattre dans la ville, et leur attacher des officiers de milices ou notables bourgeois, en attendant qu'on puisse avoir des officiers de troupes réglées.

Je crois qu'il seroit très avantageux de former de suite des compagnies de volontaires canadiens.

Tel est mon avis, ce 28 au matin.

MONTCALEM.

Je propose encore 1° de faire toutes les batteries qui environnent la basse-ville, à barbette, sans même de genouillères, ni plates-formes, si on ne peut pas les faire actuellement. Ces batteries n'auront d'effet qu'autant que l'ennemi en mouilleroit de fort près, et alors on n'y tiendrait pas mieux avec des épaulements ;

2° De repartir dès ce moment officiers et soldats d'artillerie à leurs postes ;

3° Enfin de faire, pour le cas d'une alerte, la répartition générale de tout le monde, terre, marine et colonie, sauf à ajouter à la disposition à mesure que nos forces augmenteront.

IX

MÉMOIRE POUR LA DÉFENSE DES ENVIRONS DE  
QUÉBEC, LA CAMPAGNE DE 1759, PAR LE  
CHEVALIER DE LÉVIS. (Incomplet.)

[From the *Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis*, edited by the  
Abbé Casgrain, vol. iv. pp. 162-164.]

*Disposition générale pour s'opposer à la descente depuis la rivière  
Saint-Charles jusqu'au Sault de Montmorency, de même que  
pour se retirer derrière la rivière Saint-Charles dans le cas  
que l'on fût forcé à la descente ; projet pour défendre cette  
rivière et ordre de bataille pour combattre et pour camper toute  
la campagne.*

ORDRE DE BATAILLE

La brigade du gouvernement de Québec, composée de . . .  
soldats de la marine ou Canadiens, et la brigade du gouverne-  
ment des Trois-Rivières, composée de . . . soldats de la  
marine ou Canadiens, camperont à la droite de l'armée.

Les troupes de terre, composées des bataillons de la Sarre,  
Royal-Roussillon, Languedoc, Guyenne et Béarn camperont  
au centre.

Les milices de la ville de Montréal composées de . . .  
hommes, et la brigade du gouvernement de Montréal, com-  
posée de soldats de la marine ou Canadiens camperont à la  
gauche de l'armée.

La réserve sera composée de la cavalerie, des troupes  
légères et des sauvages. L'artillerie, aux ordres de M. Le

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Mercier, et les vivres camperont aux endroits les plus commodes et qui seront indiqués, de même que l'hôpital ambulant.

Les milices de la ville de Québec, composées . . . hommes, resteront pour servir de garnison à Québec, aux ordres de M. de Ramezay, lieutenant du Roi.

Les deux frégates du Roi resteront armées, et du désarmement des autres bâtiments, on armera les bâtiments destinés à combattre en avant de la rade, et, à mesure que ces bâtiments de viendront inutiles, les équipages entreranno dans la place pour servir aux batteries qui leur auroient été indiquées d'avance.

M. Vauquelin, commandant de la rade,\* aura la direction de tous les bâtiments pour les employer dans les endroits qu'il croira le plus utile au bien du service, et, selon l'exigence des cas, il donnera ses ordres à tout ce qui est de la marine. Il ne peut avoir assez attention que les matelots avec les officiers se rendent exactement aux endroits où ils auront été destinés.

Comme M. de Ramezay ne pourra pas donner ses ordres en même temps dans toute la ville, il seroit nécessaire qu'il y eût un commandant particulier pour la basse-ville, qui seroit cependant aux ordres de M. de Ramezay et qui agiroit de

\* La rade est composée de cent un officiers et de seize cents matelots, dont il y en a quatre cents pour les deux frégates qui restent armées, et quatorze officiers;

Pour la garde des bâtiments au-dessus du Richelieu, vingt-quatre officiers et quatre cents matelots;

Au lac Champlain quatre officiers et cent matelots; ce qui fait quarante-deux officiers et neuf cents matelots.

Officiers et matelots employés pour le service de la rade qui doivent rentrer après leurs opérations:

Pour douze bateaux, cent cinquante-six, et vingt-quatre officiers;

Pour trois chaloupes carcassières, quarante-cinq matelots et six officiers.

Pour les cajeux, vingt-cinq matelots et trois officiers;

Pour la redoute flottante, vingt-cinq matelots et trois officiers.

Pour sept brûlots, deux cents matelots et quatorze officiers;

Pour la gabarre, vingt matelots et quatre officiers;

Pour les deux bâtiments qui sont en batterie, six officiers et quatre-vingt-huit matelots; ce qui fait cinq cent soixante-dix-neuf matelots.

Il en reste cent vingt-un qui ne sont pas employés, et tous les officiers le sont.

concert avec lui, de même que les officiers du génie et de l'artillerie.

*Dispositions pour s'opposer à la descente.*

La ville de Québec livrée à ses propres forces, et à celles de la marine, l'armée passera la rivière Saint-Charles.

La droite, composée des brigades du gouvernement de Québec et des Trois-Rivières campera dans la plaine depuis. . . .

X

PRIVATE DIARY KEPT BY SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AT NIAGARA AND OSWEGO, 1759.

[From *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson*, by William L. Stone, Albany, 1865, vol. ii., Appendix, pp. 394-429.]

The garrison of Niagara surrendered July 25th at 7 in the morning. The number of which consisted of 607 men and 11 officers, besides a number of women, children, &c. The former to be sent to England by the way of New York, and escorted to Oswego by a detachment of the 46th, consisting of 300, the latter to the 1st French post with one Priest.

*Officers' Names in Garrison.\**

Chevalier Pouchot, captain of the regiment; De Bearn Condé Vilar,<sup>1</sup> captain of the regiment. La Saire Servier,<sup>2</sup> captain of the Royal Roussillon; Chevalier De La Roche Veinay,<sup>3</sup> captain of marines; Bouraffons, commanding officer of artillery; Consnoyer,<sup>4</sup> lieut. of a detachment of marines; Soluignag,<sup>5</sup> officer of the regm't of Bearn; Le Chevalier De Larminac,<sup>6</sup> lieutenant of marines; Joncaire, captain of marines.

Chabear Joncaire.<sup>7</sup>

Morambert, Lieut., De Guyendre,<sup>8</sup> Chirurgion, left to take care of the sick.

July 26th.—They embarked, after grounding their arms, and proceeded to Oswego.

\* See p. 244. The names appear as follows in the List of Officers (*Canadian Archives*, Series B, vol. xxvii. p. 22):

<sup>1</sup> Comte Villars.	<sup>2</sup> Servies.	<sup>3</sup> Vernys.	<sup>4</sup> Cousnoyer.
<sup>5</sup> Soluignac.	<sup>6</sup> Larminac.	<sup>7</sup> Chabert Joncaire	

<sup>8</sup> The punctuation of these paragraphs is obviously incorrect; the pause should be placed after the regimental names, which should read: "Bearn," "La Sarre," "Royal Roussillon," and "Guyenne."



# 188 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

List of the officers, and cadets, taken in the action of July 24th, the whole consisted of 30 officers, of which three only escaped, the following were taken prisoners, and the rest killed, viz :

Aubrey, <sup>1</sup>	} Comdts.	
De Ligneris,		
Chevalier De Villier, <sup>2</sup>	} Captains.	
Montaigny, <sup>3</sup>		
Chevalier Desponligney,		
Mr. Marin,		
Mr. Gamelin, Captain of Militia.		
La Chauirgre, <sup>4</sup>	} Lieutenants.	
La Noye, <sup>5</sup>		
La Moelle, <sup>6</sup>		
Baitlent, <sup>7</sup>		
Mortisanbert, <sup>8</sup>		
Derius, <sup>9</sup>		
Feran, <sup>10</sup>		
Dequindre, Col.	} Militia officers.	
Ia Motte Domeille, Major, <sup>11</sup>		
Defilete, <sup>12</sup>	} Cadets.	
Deligneris,		
Soumandre,		
Barroiz, <sup>13</sup>		
Mr. Duclos a la garde.		

Boiford,<sup>14</sup> Chirurgion major with their attendants.\*

27th.—I divided among the several nations, the prisoners and scalps amounting to two hundred and forty-six, of which ninety-six were prisoners. The officers I with difficulty released from them, by ransom, good words, &c.†

<sup>1</sup> Aubry.	<sup>2</sup> Villiers.	<sup>3</sup> Montigny.	<sup>4</sup> Chauvignery.
<sup>5</sup> La Noue.	<sup>6</sup> La Moele.	<sup>7</sup> Bailleuil.	<sup>8</sup> Montizambert.
<sup>9</sup> Devins.	<sup>10</sup> Ferend.	<sup>11</sup> Douville.	<sup>12</sup> Defilet.
<sup>13</sup> Barrois.	<sup>14</sup> Boisard.		

\* Johnson probably took the names down by sound.

† Referring to the prisoners taken in the action of the 24th.

28th.—The greatest part of all the nations set off in boats with a deal of plunder for their several countries.

*Do. Die.* Buried Brigadier General Prideaux in the chapel, and Colonel Johnson with a great deal of form. I was chief mourner. The evening of the 27th, I sent 3 whale boats with a party of above 30 men to reconnoitre Fort Toronto, and on their return, propose to send to destroy it.

Colonel Haldimand arrived here with Captain Williamette<sup>1</sup> from Oswego, to claim the command, which I refused giving up, as my commission gave me rank of him. He gave up the point, until General Amherst's pleasure was known, which may be soon, as Col. Haldimand, on receipt of my letter, wrote him upon it.

In order to secure this important post to his majesty, it is necessary to leave for the present a garrison of 700 men, who are also to repair the works, which have been hurt by our cannon, and put the fort in the best posture of defence they can, with the assistance of an engineer, who is to be left here for that purpose.

To have the two vessels fitted out, armed, and manned to escort the battoes with the remainder of the army to Oswego; also endeavor to take the French schooner.

Artillery and ammunition to leave here, and have Captain Stretchy's<sup>2</sup> opinion in writing thereupon—also some artillery men and gunners.

The French officers and other prisoners to take with me to Oswego, and send them to York in order to be sent to England.

To write Governor De Lancey to send all the French prisoners to England as soon as possible.

5 days' provisions for the troops' journey to Oswego, and to get a return of the remainder.

Ammunition to carry with me to Oswego, and some

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Willyamos, appointed Captain 60th Regiment March 8, 1757.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Strachey, appointed Captain Royal Artillery February 4, 1757.

artillery—also working tools—good ship carpenters to send for immediately to New York; and everything necessary for building and completing two vessels of force, without which we cannot maintain the two posts of Oswego and Niagara, particularly the latter; also rigging for two other smaller vessels already built; about forty or fifty good house carpenters to be immediately sent up to make a fort at Oswego, and repair Niagara.

To write the secretary of state and send him a plan of Niagara; also, give him an idea of the consequence of it to his majesty's Indian interest; the extension of the free trade, and, above all, its cutting off the communication between Canada and Louisiana.

To send Governor De Lancey a copy of the plan of the fort as soon as I can, in order to have it printed, or plates of it published for the benefit of the public.

To write to, and settle with the general how far my limits extend, for taking care of or managing Indian affairs, that I may regulate my passes and Indian trade.

29<sup>th</sup>.—I gave the French officers shoes, stockings, and blankets. I wrote by De Normandy to Oswego for all the ship carpenters to come here, to build 2 vessels of 18 guns each, and to bring all the naval stores, and as much provision, as they can, along as soon as may be; the house carpenters then to repair the battoes and make a number of oars, paddles, &c., against I get there; a detachment from the York regiment to come with the convoy. *Do. Die.* I write a letter to the secretary of state with a short account of the siege of Niagara; also sent him a plan of the fort, and a return of the killed and wounded in the siege and action of the 24<sup>th</sup> July—being 360 killed and 180 wounded, besides—3 Indians killed and 5 wounded—63 killed, 185 wounded.

30<sup>th</sup>.—At night Lieutenant Francis returned from Toronto, and reported that the enemy had burned and abandoned that post, and destroyed many things which they

could not take along, viz. working utensils, arms, &c. A Chippaway chief came to me with Mr Francis in order to speak with me.

31st.—I settled the garrison to be left here, and gave orders accordingly; also the train engineer, artificers, ammunition and provision. Also ordered the building of two good armed vessels at this place to carry 16 or 18 guns each.

*Do. Dis.* I wrote a letter to General Amherst with a plan of the fort, a list of the killed and wounded, also a return of the effectives now here, and a list of artillery stores wanted for Niagara, given by Captain Stretchy. With which I sent Captain John Butler express and 7 of my batteau men with him.

*August 1st, 1759.*—I went to see Niagara Falls with Colonel Haldimand, Mr. Ogilvie, and several officers, escorted by three companies of light infantry. Arrived there about 11 o'clock; in my way at the thither end of the carrying place, I met a flag of truce from Presque Isle, desiring to know the number of officers I had in my hands, from the action of the 24th, and begging I would advance them anything they might want, they being men of fortune and credit. One letter was from the commandant of Presque Isle named Chevalier Poitneuf, the other from Mons. de Couagne, who came with the flag of truce, with 9 men and Indians. I ordered them to stay in the woods, and left Mr. Rogers with a guard with him, until I sent a message to them and provisions. The artillery was this day partly shipped on board the batteaus, the readier to be shipped to-morrow, with ammunition, &c.

22d.—I wrote a letter to the Chevalier—by the flag of truce, and sent Captain McLeon with a party to escort them to their boats. This day I ordered all the boats, &c., to be made ready for embarking the troops, &c., which are to go to Oswego, in order to leave this on the morrow. Spoke to the Chippaway sachem, Tequakareigh. With a string and two belts of wampum, I bid him welcome and shook him by the

hand. By the 2d, which was a black belt,<sup>1</sup> I took the hatchet out of the hands of his, and all the surrounding nations; recommended hunting and trade to them, which would be more for their interest than quarreling with the English, who have ever been their friends, and supplied them at the cheapest rates with the necessities of life, and would do it again, both here and at Oswego, provided they quit the French interest. This I desired he would acquaint all the surrounding nations with. A black belt, the third and last, was to invite his, and all other nations living near them, to repair early next spring to this place and Oswego, when there should be a large assortment of all kinds of goods fit for their use; also recommended it to them to send some of their young men here to hunt and fish for the garrison, for which they would be paid, and kindly treated. Told them at the same time, that I would send some of my interpreters, &c., with him on the lake to the next town of the Mississigeys,<sup>2</sup> with whom I desired he would use his best endeavors to convince them that it would be their best interest to live in friendship with the English, and that we had no ill intentions against them, if they did not oblige us to it. To which he answered, and said it gave him great pleasure to hear so good words, and was certain it would be extremely agreeable to all the nations with whom he was acquainted, who, with his, were wheedled and led on to strike the English, which he now confessed he was sorry for, and assured me they never would again, and that should the French, according to custom, ask them to do so any more, they would turn them out of the country. He, at the same time, begged earnestly that a plenty of goods might be brought here and to Oswego, and there, they, as well as all the other nations around, would come and trade; and their young men should hunt for their brothers whom they now took fast hold of by the hand, and called upon the Six Nations, who were present, to bear witness to what he had

<sup>1</sup> Black = purple.

<sup>2</sup> Missisagas, Messisagus, Missisagais.

promised. He also desired I would send some person to the Mississagay town, near where Toronto stood, to hear what he should say to that nation, and to see that he would deliver my belts and message honestly. I clothed him very well, and gave him a handsome present to carry home. Then took from his neck a large French medal; gave him an English one, and a gorget of silver, desiring whenever he looked at them, he would remember the engagements he now made.

This day I agreed with Mr. De Couagne to serve at Niagara as interpreter, until relieved, at the rate of £12 per month. Colonel Haldimand, with Captain Williamore,<sup>1</sup> set off for Oswego with 2 whale boats. I desired him, on his arrival there, to send away the French women to La Galette immediately, with a good officer, capable to make remarks and draw the situation of that part of the country, so that I may know what to do in case it should be thought proper to attempt anything that way. Also have the boats ready against I arrive at Oswego, to send the French officers in from New York.

3rd.—I gave Lieut. Nellus and De Couagne orders to go over the lake with the Chippaway chief, and call the Mississagays, and speak with the commanding officer of Niagara and Oswego; also to trade with and hunt for their brethren the English. They, the interpreters, are to remain at Niagara, until further orders, and assist the commanding officer here all in their power.

This day I ordered some guns for the vessel and carriages, so as to be ready to-morrow morning to sail for Oswego with me. I sent a string of wampum by three Chenussios<sup>2</sup> to their nation, telling them now my surprise at their going away from hence in so a——\* manner, not allowing me a meeting where I in-

<sup>1</sup> Willyamos.

<sup>2</sup> Chenussios, the largest tribe of the Senecas residing in the Niagara district.

\* Illegible in the manuscript.

tended to have said something to them, and the rest of the nations—3 strings wampum. I sent them a white belt to thank them for the good salve they gave me for my wounds, meaning Niagara, and to desire they would continue to have a careful eye over it, and not suffer any nation to insult, or hurt it.

*Saturday, August 4th.*—I was to embark at 5 o'clock in the morning with the troops, &c., for Oswego, but the two French schooners appearing off harbor prevented our embarkation until 5 in the evening, when I left Colonel Farquhar everything in charge; also some Indian goods to give occasionally to such Indians as might come upon business to him. Then set off with all the Yorkers except one company; all the light infantry, and grenadiers, and the general's company of the 44th regiment, and arrived at Oswego, Tuesday, about 3 o'clock P.M., with everything safe.

*Wednesday 8th.*—Enquired into the state of the provisions, and everything else, and find provisions so short, and slowly sent up, that I fear those two posts on the lake will suffer greatly, unless other measures are taken to supply them, than hitherto has been. I sent away Ensign Brown D.I.M. to Fort Stanwix, also Major Hogan, in order to hurry up the bateaux with provisions. Also sent from hence this day 21 French officers with a captain, 2 subalterns, and sixty men, as a guard to Fort Stanwix. I also sent away to Fort Stanwix all sick and wounded, as were judged by the doctor unfit for service, or likely to continue so during the campaign, to prevent the consumption of provisions.

*9th.*—I was regulating the camp and works.

*10th.*—Getting returns of the state of everything belonging to the army, and writing to General Amherst, Governor De Lancey, &c. *Do. Die;* Some Mohawks, Onondagas, &c., arrived here from Niagara.

*11th.*—I dispatched an express, one — to Albany, with letters to the general and others. Also sent to Captain Jn. Butler to come up with what number of Mohawks, and others

he could, immediately. At the same time, I sent Captain Fonda, Lieutenant Hair, an interpreter, and others, to Onondaga, to call the young men of that nation here, to go upon service. I sent a black belt of wampum by him to speak with, and to send it to the other nations from thence. In the afternoon Captain De Fere arrived with part of the escort, went to the French garrison, and brought some provisions with them.

12th.—In the morning, the little schooner arrived here from Niagara with Captain De Normandy, and brought me a letter from Lieutenant Colonel Farquhar, commanding officer there. It rained very hard, which stopped the workmen. Very windy also.

In the afternoon I went to the woods, where the party were at work cutting and drawing timber, also building a small redoubt to cover the working parties—cut vistas through the woods, also, for the same purpose.

Monday 13th.—Very stormy in the morning. Had the schooner loaded notwithstanding, with the rigging, &c., belonging to our vessel, and fifty barrels of provisions. I wrote Colonel Farquhar by her, and employed Mr. Thody to go, and bring the new schooner down to this place. Gave orders to seize all sutler's rum, and put it in the king's store. Sent an order to the officer commanding at the falls, not to suffer any bateaux, &c., to pass with sutlers, or others, without they take the opportunity of an escort.

Tuesday 14th.—Sent an order to the Oneida Lake post, to keep 50 of the Provincials, who were a guard to the French garrison, to remain there, in the room of 50 sailors there, who are to come here in order to navigate the vessels. I sent Lieutenant Francis with 60 men and 2 Indians, in 3 bateaux, to Irondequat and the Seneca river, in order to pick up, and bring along with him, all the whale boats, and bateaux he may find there, or along the lake, with 10 days' provisions. Two Yorkers just now arrived here from the royal galley, and say that on seeing our schooner, the master and all the crew run



ashore, and left her at anchor, about 8 miles this side of Sodus. They have seen nothing of the remainder of the crew since. I ordered them to the guard, until the affair is cleared up. —8 at night; 3 more of her crew arrived, and reported her taken by the enemy, and her masts, rigging, and anchor cut away.

*Wednesday 13th [15].*—Early in the morning more of her crew arrived, and the galley, also, brought in by some of Dr. Normandy's crew, with a letter from him. This day I sent some Onondagas to Swegatchie as Spies; and on their return, they are to bring me a prisoner if possible, for which they are to have 100 dollars; they are to be back in 5 or 6 days.

*Wednesday 15th.*—Works carrying on as usual. Block houses building in the wood, and vistas cutting to the lake, and a battery, to prevent the enemy's annoying our working parties.

*Thursday 16th.*—Brigadier General Gage arrived here in the afternoon with 300 drafts for the 3 regiments here. I gave up the command to him, and General Amherst's instructions to the late Brigadier Prideaux, also his last letter to Do., which I received on my way from Niagara. He then showed me a letter or two he received from General Amherst, with orders to proceed to this place, and take the command. Also to proceed to Niagara, if not yet taken. If taken and the troops returned, then to proceed to La Galette and take post there, which (in case General Wolfe should be defeated) would make a frontier, with Niagara, Oswego, and Crown Point. He told me that on reading General Amherst's letter, he gave him as his opinion, that he thought it impracticable to establish a post there in so short a time, and furnish it with provisions. General Gage brought up about 140 barrels of provisions, only, with this reinforcement. We have now about 3 weeks' provisions here for the whole—the New Hampshire regiment coming by land with cattle.

*Friday 17th.*—Fine weather. General Gage agreed to the

plan of the fort proposed by Engineer Lowers, viz. a pentagon. Accordingly, they set about it, and marked out the ground. This day I made up an affair between Colonel Massey and Captain Forbes, which, otherwise, was to be tried by a general court martial. The drafts were this day divided among the 3 regiments here.

*Saturday, 18th.*—A fine morning. Colonel Haldimand came to my tent, and on our talking over several matters, among other things, I asked him whether the general had said anything to him about advancing to Swegatchy. He answered, that the general had showed him all his instructions, but said nothing about going to La Galette, on which I gave him my opinion that our going to La Galette and destroying it was practicable, and might favour General Amherst's designs, but main there was impossible on account of provisions, and being too late to make such a respectable work there, as the French would not be able to take. He expressed himself against attempting it, for the above reasons, and further, that the enemy might carry on an expedition against it in the winter, adding, also, that if one of our convoys should be cut off, it would ruin the whole, and oblige us to abandon even this post, &c.—General Gage expressed himself the same way, and added, farther, that his honor was as dear to him as General Amherst's could be to him, and did not understand running his head against a wall, or attempting impossibilities, with a great deal more to that purpose, and what I thought not unreasonable, after telling me the state of everything, particularly artillery, ammunition and provision. I told General Gage that I thought our going to and destroying La Galette practicable, but not to take post there, for the several reasons given to Lieutenant Colonel Haldimand, the same day. The general then said he would get a few stray boats built to carry each a piece of large cannon in the bow, to guard against the French vessels, and would then make a trial.—I asked him then, whether he would have me send for the several nations of

Indians to come immediately and join us, to which he made no answer.

*Sunday August 19th.*—Fine weather. Lieutenant Francis, with his party, returned with several whale boats &c., from Irondequat. Also came in this day, some Onondagas, and Chenusios, who told me they were sent to let me know that several sachems and others were coming to Oswego to meet me, also two sachems of the Mississagues, and would be here in four or five days; that they had a great many furs and skins to trade, and hoped there would be plenty of goods for that purpose. I represented to General Gage, the necessity of having traders come up here, and to Niagara, for that end. He told me to act in that as I thought best for the service, and to give papers to such as I thought desired them.

*Monday 20th.*—Cloudy weather. I gave General Gage a rough draft of the River St. Lawrence from Frontinac to the island below La Galette, drawn by the Red Head, an Ondaga<sup>1</sup> Indian. Dined with General Gage, after which we took a walk, and talked together about going down to La Galette—to which he agreed, as soon as artillery, vessels, &c., could be got ready. Mr. Brown arrived from Fort Stanwix with 24 bateaux with provisions, and rum, &c.

*Tuesday 21st.*—Very stormy, and rained all night—continued stormy all day. I wrote a letter to my brother by Lieutenant Linall of the Highland regiment; another to Kelly, Corry, Date, Wallace, and my daughter Nancy. Sent another to Molly, by Hance Clermont, not to come here.

*Wednesday 22d.*—Very stormy, and rain. Lieutenant Linall came for my letters, and set off for army with General Amherst by whom I sent word I should have as many Indians, as necessary. Provisions being scarce, I cannot collect a great number. Major Graham arrived about 2 o'clock, with 2 of the Highlanders. About 6 in the evening the schooner arrived from Niagara. When she left, the evening before, all well

<sup>1</sup> Ondages or Onondagas.

there. By letters from thence, I learn that the Mississagays came there on my invitation, and have made peace with us, as by Colonel Farquhar's letter, and Lieutenant Nellar's will appear, which letters must be entered in the Indian Records. Captain Fonda returned from Onondaga with the Bunt,<sup>1</sup> and others of that nation, and tells me there will be about 100 of that nation here to-morrow. He brought me a letter from Mr. Croghan, dated July 20th, and brought by Tiaquandean, an Onondaga warrior, returning with five prisoners and some scalps from the Catawbass' country.<sup>2</sup>

*Thursday 23d.*—Fine weather. The Bunt, chief of Onondaga, with several of his nation, came to my tent. I bid them welcome; told them I was glad to see them, and, as I heard they were not yet all assembled, would defer saying anything upon business, until they arrived, when I would let them know what news I had, and the reason of my sending for them. Then ordered pipes, tobacco, a dram, and some punch, and sent an officer to see them take up their ground for encampment, also to draw provisions, so parted. They soon got drunk, and were very troublesome.—This day my express returned after delivering his letters at Albany, and brought a packet from General Amherst, for Brigadier Gage and me. His to me was dated the 6th at Crown Point, very kind and polite, and pressing me to get as many Indians as I can to join General Gage on another enterprise. Received also a letter from Dirck Vanderhuyden of London, by which he appears in my debt £144. 4. 7. sterling for ginsing of mine which lay in his hands a long time, and now sold at 3 c, & 3-3 ptt.

*Friday 24th.*—Fine morning. I propose this day speaking to the Indians.—All drunk, could not meet them. Major Christie arrived about 12 o'clock from Crown Point in 10 days. Brought me a letter from General Amherst, and

<sup>1</sup> The Bunt, or Bundt, an Onondaga Sachem.

<sup>2</sup> Catawbass, or Catabus, Indians of the Siouan family.

another from Colonel Eyre. General Gage showed me his letter from the general—also all his to him, to Mr. Kilby, Country, &c., in all, settling the state of the army. Provisions, artillery, boats, and tools, which, when ready, he would lose no time in following his orders. Major Christie told me he had heard at Canajoharie that Captain Butler was passed there on his way hither, so that I soon expect him with the Indians. The schooner is this day sent to Niagara, for one 18 pounder—2 fourteen pounders, some shot and other things for our expedition, which I fear will delay us.

*Saturday 25th.*—Fine weather. About 11 o'clock, 3 bateaux, with Senecas, Chenusios, to the amount of 70, arrived from their country, and fired 3 volleys when near our camp, which was returned by the guard of the 14th battalion of royal artillery. I then sent Captain Fonda<sup>1</sup> and an interpreter to show them their ground for encampment, the opposite side of the river, and get them provisions. The same time old Saquerisera, sachem of Onondaga, and his party came to my tent; wished me joy of our success at Niagara, and wished a continuence of it. I thanked them, and told them as soon as it suited them, I should be glad they would all meet, and allow me an opportunity of acquainting them what had passed between the Northern Indians and me, since they parted with me at Niagara—also some other matters which concerned our mutual interest. They promised to give me notice when they were ready, and so parted.

*Sunday 26th.*—Fine weather. The interpreter Prindup arrived from Onondaga with above fifty warriors, and a number of women and children. Encamped them over the river, and sent them word I would meet them all this afternoon. The interpreter tells me the messenger who was sent with my belt to call the Indians, returned last Wednesday from Cayuga, and reported that a great number of that nation, as well as Senecas, were on their way hither, and would be soon here.

<sup>1</sup> Gelles Funda; see Stone's *Life of Sir William Johnson*, vol. ii. p. 178.

They got an ox among them this morning. No news yet from General Wolfe except what was in the prints. This day General Gage desired I would not yet let the Indians know our design of going to La Galette, but endeavor to get a party of them to fetch a prisoner for intelligence, from Cada-raghqui<sup>1</sup> first. In the evening I went over and condoled their losses by sickness &c., with three strings of wampum, and told them as it was then late I would meet them next morning at this camp. Two Onondagoes arrived with an account of the enemy's taking one, Mr. Bean, a sutler, prisoner, and killing his two bateaux men, and destroying his bateaux this side of the Oswego Falls. I acquainted General Gage of it, and advised him to send one hundred of the light infantry in whale boats to cut off their retreat, and get 50 Indians to go with them. 10 o'clock at night.

*Monday 27th.*—Still good weather, but windy. About 9 o'clock a party of the Onondaga warriors, with their speaker, came to see me at my tent, where I gave them a dram, pipes and tobacco, and bid them welcome as customary. They told me they had a number of arms and utensils out of order, which they begged might be mended. I told them our smiths here were much employed, however at times they should mend such things for them as they wanted most, and that as soon as I got home, I would provide a smith to work in their country for them. They then parted, and I went to meet the rest in council. About 12 o'clock, the Onondagas and Senecas met, when the chief of Chenussio returned with three strings of wampum, the compliment of the ceremony of condolence. After which I told them what had passed between me and the chief of the Chippaway Nation at Niagara, as well as what the Mississagay had done in consequence thereof, which gave great satisfaction. I then desired they would let me know what news they had from the Ohio, and other parts; when the Chenusio chief, named Karaghyianaghqui told, as follows; viz. :

<sup>1</sup> Cataraqui.

that after the battle of Belle Famille,<sup>1</sup> the Ottawas, and others, then with the enemy, held a council at the Falls, and came to a resolution to go back to Niagara, and speak with the English, and Six Nations, and make peace, but the French would not allow them, on which they, notwithstanding, sent 2 of their people to Chenusio, to know whether they were angry with them for the part they had acted, and to assure them they were much pressed to it by the French. The Senecas reminded them of the friendly messages they had sent them last year to Teughsaghruntie, which they expected they would have regarded. They told them now, that they were not angry, and desired the two Mississagays to return as soon as they could, with said answer. Soon after another of that nation arrived, charged with the same business, to whom the Chenusios returned for answer, that they had delivered what they had to say to the first two messengers, and had not [anything?] to say further, but to recommend a speedy return to them with their answer. They were not gone when these Indians left home. The chief sachem then told me and the Onondagas, that some of their nation, who came from Ohio, told that the French had burned and abandoned Wenanga, [Venango?] Fort La Riviere [de] Boeuf, and Presque Isle, and that the garrison retired to Detroit. This they affirmed for truth. The Chenusio chief then spoke with a string of wampum as follows:

"BROTHER: I can now with pleasure acquaint [you] that these Indians, whom you have so often called from the southward, are arrived in our country, and as they have left their plantations, cornfields, &c., must now suffer for the want of provisions, unless assisted by you this year, and we for their behalf earnestly request you will assist them, as they are now come to incorporate with us—*Gave 3 strings.*" The new vessel hove in sight while we were met, which I told them

<sup>1</sup> This place was situated on the Niagara River, about three furlongs above the Fort.

was called the *Mississagay*. Her size and name pleased them all much. I then told them as it was late, I would meet them the next day, and talk farther to them on other matters—so parted.

At 7 in the evening, the scout returned from a river, about 20 miles from here, when the Indians found by the tracks, &c., that the party which scalped our people the day before were gone. Mr. De Couagne arrived with the *Mississagay* schooner, and tells me he thinks that that nation, as also the Ottawas, are very sincere in what they have said, and determined to settle a firm alliance and trade with us, if properly managed, and encouraged. This evening rained very hard. General Gage came to my tent and told me he intended to leave about 300 \* men to carry on the works, and carry the rest with him. He ordered the survey of the boats to be continued until all examined.

*Tuesday 28th.*—Blustering weather. This morning wind at N.W. I sent for the Bunt, speaker of Onondaga, and 2 Seneca chiefs, viz., Karaghyianaghqui and Belt, to whom I repeated what I intended to say to all the nations present, and to those not here, who are to deliver it to-morrow morning, to the whole in my presence at their own camp, and is as follows:

29th.—“BRETHREN: I have received messages from the Mississagays, and other nations on the lake, very friendly to us, and you. They, among other things, earnestly desire an extension and plentiful trade may be carried on by us at Niagara, and this place, so that they and all other nations around them, may be supplied with the necessaries of life, at as cheap a rate as can be afforded. This is what his majesty has in view; and the building the several forts you see along the country is purely to protect you, and such a trade from the insults of our troublesome enemy the French. I, therefore, by this belt of wampum, desire that you will not be uneasy or alarmed at them.

*A white belt.”*

\* The figures in the manuscript are indistinct. They are designed either for 300 or 900.



"BRETHREN: I understand there are some of our people who have deserted; others who are by some means or other come among you, and harbored by you. As it is not right to keep them among you, or detain them, I expect they [will] all be delivered up to me as soon as you conveniently can—and for the future that you do not allow any to come and settle among you, without our consent. *A belt.*"

"BRETHREN: As you have taken our hatchet and used it successfully this campaign, I must desire you to continue making use of it, as much as is in your power, against your and our common enemy the French; and that you remain here with his majesty's troops, and be ready to join them in any operations, which may be carried on during the season. This will gain you credit with his majesty and all his subjects your brethren, and with the blessing of God, greatly contribute to put an end to the war; after which, with the regulations that may be made in trade, you will live peaceably and be a happy people. And this, I strongly recommend to you all by this belt of wampum. *A Belt.*"

"BRETHREN OF THE SENECA NATION: I am glad to hear that all those of your people, who were living at Ohio, and dispersed about, are now coming to settle among you. It is right to settle in bodies, as by that means, you will be more respectable. You see, brethren, our hands are full at present, putting our new acquisitions into a state of safety, and re-establishing Oswego as fast as we can, for your interest as well as ours; so that really we have enough to do, until this hurry is over, to carry up the necessary supply of provisions for the use of the army. Notwithstanding, you may be assured, all assistance in our power will be given at Niagara, and here, to such as are really in distress. *A string of wampum.*"

*Thursday 30th.*—The schooner arrived with Captain

Walton of the train, and three-pounders, tools, &c. An express from General Amherst came in, by whom I had a letter dated Crown Point, August 21st, an answer to mine of the 9th; General Gage had also a letter. Some letters and papers mention General Wolfe's having begun to bombard Quebec the twelfth of last month; that the French army, under the command of Major Hourlemazhe,<sup>1</sup> were intrenched on an Island six miles from St. Jeans, whither General Amherst was to proceed as soon as a sixteen-gun frigate was finished. In the evening, I went over the river to receive the Indians' answer, to what I had said to them the day before. Being met, the Onondaga Speaker arose, and asked the Senecas whether they were ready. The Seneca chief, named Karagh-yianaghqui, answered they were, and spoke as follows:—Present, Captains Fonda and Lotteridge; Lieutenants Claus and Hair; Clement and Printop, interpreters.

"BROTHER GORAGHKO WARRAGHIYAGEY, AND YOU BRETHREN OF THE ONONDAGA NATION: Give attention to what I am now going to say in behalf of the Senecas, and Chenusios. The news which our friend Warraghiyagey told us yesterday from the Mississagays, and other distant nations, and the assurances he gave us of his Majesty's intentions towards us, and all nations who were inclined to live in friendship with him, as well as that the several forts which he was now building in our country, were to cover them from any attempts of the enemy, and protect the trade, which was to be carried on with them at said posts, gave us much satisfaction, as we hope it will to you, and all our allies: being sensible it must prove greatly to our mutual advantage, if carried on in an honest manner, which by this belt, we entreat it may.

*Gave a belt."*

"BROTHER: Your request, concerning such of your people as are among us, shall be complied with, but it will require a

<sup>1</sup> Bourlamaque.

little time to collect them, being dispersed among the several villages around us. You may depend upon it, they will be delivered to you at your house, or to the governor of Philadelphia, from whose government, we understand, most of them have been taken by the Delawares, Shawanese, &c. We will (showing the belt) take your belt through the nations and show it to them, and then send it to our brethren of Onondaga, who will doubtless return it to you with such of their people as they may have.

"BROTHER: You yesterday strongly recommended to us to persevere, and make good use of the axe you had given us, against the French, as long as the war continued, which you were of opinion could not be very long. We of the Seneca Nation do assure you, brother, that we will assist our brethren the English, while the war lasts; and wish it to end honorably.

*Returned the belt.*

Then the Onondaga speaker came to me from his council, and assured me, they would do the same, as well as the Seneca nation. They then asked me, what news we had by the express. I told them the account we had from Quebec, and so ended the meeting. I privately spoke to Bunt, the speaker, and others, to encourage their young men to go upon immediate service. They said they would.

31st.—Red Head came, and told me he would set off for La Galette on to-morrow, in order to get a prisoner for our intelligence. He and party were fitted out with every necessary, and [I] gave them money to buy fresh provision for a feast as usual. This afternoon, I advised the general to send a flag of truce to La Galette and Frontenac, to enquire for and demand the officers who ran away from the guard at Fort Herkimer. He agreed to it and prepared a letter, and intends to send Lieutenant Baker with it. I sent away this day, a letter to General Amherst. I took a German deserter's information this day, and read it to the general. This day, constant rain; no work carried on.

*Saturday the 1st of September.*—Weather pretty good, and moderate. I fitted out a party of eleven Onondagas and Senecas, who are to bring a prisoner from La Galette, if possible, and all the intelligence they can of the enemy's strength, and the station of the vessels. They are to be back in ten days, if well. I sent a belt of black and white wampum by them to the Swegatchie Indians, and any others they may see, advising them all to go out of our way, and quit the French interest. If they continue obstinate, and will not take my advice, they must blame themselves for the consequence, which I think will be fatal to them, we being determined to carry that place at any rate. I gained all the intelligence I could from the Indians, of the navigation of the River St. Lawrence to La Galette, which I gave the general. About 12 o'clock, Mr. Baker set off for Cadaraghqui in a whale boat, with a letter from General Gage, demanding the officer and two privates of Niagara garrison, who ran away from Fort Herkimer. The sachems of Onondaga came to beg I would stop Red Head's party, and allow them to send others there with a charge to the Swegatchies, to quit the place immediately. I gave them a very smart reprimand, and told them I would rather go without an Indian, than to have any with me who were not quite hearty. On which they told me, they would all go with me whenever I called upon them. I told them I was so much ashamed of their backwardness in going on a scout, that I had a good mind to ask the general's liberty to go on that service myself, without a man of them, as it appeared to me, they either were afraid, or unwilling to have that nest destroyed; which made them look very grave. The Seneca sachems, who were attending without, sent me word they had something to say, and would be glad to be heard, on which the others broke up, and they came in. The speaker said he was very sorry at the Five Nations' abrupt manner of parting after the surrender of Niagara, which did not allow me a meeting with them, as they since

found by the messages I sent them to their country from Niagara, by some of their own people, I intended. He assured me that due regard would be had, by their nation, to the directions sent them at that time, and that they would keep a good look out so that nothing should hurt the people then, if in their power. We then made an apology, for no more of that nation coming at this time, and said it was owing to the death of the chief of all the warriors, who died the third day after their return, which, according to their custom, puts a stop to every kind of business, until his death is properly condoled. He then returned a black belt of mine, sent them some time ago. *A Belt.* He then said a great deal concerning those, begging that goods might not be sold them too dearly; that they had now with them a parcel of skins and furs, which they wished to get rum and goods for, and not be obliged to carry them back so far. So ended. I then recommended to their young men here present, to exert themselves now, and not return until the end of the campaign. I promised them that they should have their skins, &c., exchanged, and that some traders are gone to Albany for goods, some time ago for that purpose, and daily expected. They returned many thanks and parted.

*Sept. 1st.*—Fine weather. Two Oneidas and two squaws set off with a white belt from the sachems, for Swegatchie, in order to bring me intelligence, and to call all the Swegatchie Indians from thence immediately. Red Head's party of eleven men, stopped by the sachems, as they think he would only inflame matters.

*Sept. 3d.*—About 8 o'clock, the sachems of Onondaga and Seneca came to my tent, and told me that the Oneidas or Tuscaroras would not come, as they heard, by some of their people who understand English, from the soldiers at Fort Stanwix, that as soon as all the nations were assembled at Oswego, the English would give them as much liquor as they would drink, then fall upon and destroy them. They,

the Oneidas, &c., would wait the event, and in such case be ready to fall upon the English in their turn. They told me that a great many of the Cayugas were on their way hither, but hunted a little by the road, being a plentiful place of game. They said that a drove of cattle passed their town, and would be here this day. About 12 o'clock, I set off for Little Sodus in a whale boat, with five Indians. Captain Johnson, myself, and two bateau men, to shoot ducks, &c. In the evening, it rained and blew very hard. Got to Sodus about five o'clock; a very pretty shore, and a large bay with a creek running easterly; navigable as far as Captain Lotteridge went, about four miles, for a vessel. Rained all night upon us without covering.

*Sept. 4th.*—We all went out to shoot ducks, &c. Returned about 12 with fourteen ducks and one otter, and stopped at all the creeks and ponds by the way, which are many. There is one creek about eight miles from Oswego, which I think would be a better passage than by the Suego [Oswego?] Falls. The Indians told me it was navigable for boats to the head, which was near the Three Rivers. About 6 o'clock we arrived at Oswego, and found nothing new since we left it, only that the news of three of our men being scalped at the Falls was contradicted. The enemy were seen there, but did no harm. The eighteen pounder had been three times fired on board the little galley, which bore it very well.

*Wednesday 5th.*—Wind strong at S. East. Last night a Cayuga runner arrived, and told me that an express from his nation had overtaken them about two miles above the Seneca Falls, and reported to them that a young Indian of said nation had, in their absence, killed a daughter of Ottawana, a sachem of Cayuga, which made them all turn back, except the Post; they were eighty-four men in the whole. I this morning acquainted General Gage with it, and told him I thought an express from me would bring them here in six days or thereabouts, and desired to know, whether he would have me send

for them. He told me, I should send for them, if they could be got here in that time. I proposed to him the regulation of trade here, and at Niagara, with the Indians, as without some regulation, the trade would be so unjust, that all Indians who felt it, would be dissatisfied, and spread it among all nations, which would greatly hurt his majesty's Indian interest, and be the means of unsettling all that had been done by us for the promotion of it. In the evening the Seneca and Onondaga sachems came to my tent, and proposed sending to-morrow some of their people to Cayuga, and wished some of ours to accompany them, in order to condole the loss of Ottawana's daughter, killed by one of their nation three days ago. I told them it was what I intended to do, and was to have proposed it to them, had they not been before hand. I told them that I would prepare the belts and people against morning, and desired they would prepare theirs;—So ended.

*Thursday 6th.*—The weather a little better, and the wind a little abated; at which I sent Captain Lotteridge, Lieutenant Hair, the Red Head, and a Cayuga Indian, to condole the loss of a woman killed at Cayuga, by one of their own people, and to bring all the warriors with them. They are to be here in six days. I have also sent to the several traders for their services, in order to settle the prices of goods, rum, skins, beavers, &c., so that the Indians may not be imposed upon. Tiyaquande, an Onondaga chief, set off this day with his family for his castle, and is to return with the Cayugas in six days, with all his people. I sent two belts of wampum, and a string by the Red Head to Cayuga.—This afternoon I had a long discourse with Brigadier Gage, when I told him my sentiments very ingenuously, regarding the present expedition intended. He also spoke his mind freely, and said that General Amherst had missed the opportunity of favoring General Wolfe, and that unless General Amherst pushed for the whole country of Canada, which he thought now too late, an expedition this way would be of no service. Farther, that he thought this little

army had done more than his, and if they could finish a fort here this season, supply this and Niagara with sufficient provisions, they would carry a very great point.

*Friday 7th.*—A fine morning, but a little wind. Lieutenant Beckers arrived about 12 o'clock last night, and says the enemy abandoned Cadaraghqui the 29th of August; also the advanced post which they had on the island. He says he saw some boats with a few Indians crossing the lake, and one going to Swegatchie. The two French schooners lie near one of the islands about thirty miles from hence.—About 12 o'clock, the general called some officers who understood something of the sea-faring business, and consulted with them how to take the French vessels. In consequence thereof, an order was given for an attempt of the kind to be made by two hundred volunteers from the several corps, under the command of Captain Parker. They are to endeavor to board them by surprise, by landing in the night on the island close by them. This afternoon, Captain Butler arrived here with twenty-four Mohawks, and Canajoharies. He left home on receipt of my letter, which he got the 16th ult. Was very ill treated at the Upper Oneida town by Ganaghquiesia, and in short by the whole three, but kindly received by Gawche and those at the lake, who promised that thirty of them would follow and join me at Oswego. This evening, the Senecas and Onondagas met at my tent, and spoke with two belts and a string of wampum, as follows: The first, was a black belt I gave them some time ago, to unite them and strengthen our alliance with them, which they now only produced to show me it was fresh in their memory, and to assure me that it had full effect with the Confederacy,—as they had since shown by their actions, and were firmly resolved to continue our friends. The second, was three strings of wampum complaining of the dearness of our goods, and earnestly desiring they might have fairer dealing; otherwise, it would alter the present good dispositions of all the Confederacy and their allies, who expected a more



advantageous trade might be carried on with us, than with the French; which above all things would bring those nations over to us and attach the whole to his majesty's interest—*Gave three strings.* The last and third was a white belt, charging me with being too hasty and inconsiderate in thinking of another expedition before I had returned home, and considered what was next best to be done, and consulted with them, adding that if I now proceeded and should fail, the whole Confederacy would be overset. They, therefore, in the strongest manner, laid hold of me, and insisted on my staying at home. If I did not comply, all their nations would think ill of it, and give them great uneasiness.—I told them I would on to-morrow answer as to the several matters they had now spoken about.—Very wet afternoon, prevented the scout going out. Rained very hard all night.

*Saturday 8th.*—A very windy, wet morning; prevented the party's going after the French vessels, and the men's working until afternoon.

*Sunday 9th.*—Morning wet until eight o'clock; the party, under command of Captain Parker, embarked. Two hundred and fifty rank and file, and Silver Heels with them; also five Mohawks and Printop's son by themselves. About two o'clock, arrived a man, with some letters which were dropped by the post, and found by a Mohawk. In the evening, the post arrived, who was thought to have been scalped, with letters. I had one from Governor De Lancey, and others. No news from General Amherst, or Wolfe, nor Stanwix yet. With the post arrived twenty-two Indians of Canajoharie and Oneida. Late, the general came to my tent, and showed me what a quantity of provisions the Indians consumed.

*Monday 10th.*—Very wet morning. All the men obliged to quit work until 9 o'clock. About 12, the two French vessels appeared in sight, and stood in for this place above two hours; then stood a little off, and was still in sight the whole evening; many conjectures about them. Some would have it

that they were taken by our detachment, which was out in quest of them; but by their not coming in, it appeared they were yet the enemy's. The Seneca Indians came to know when I would answer to what they said last Friday. I told them I would to-morrow at farthest. By a Mohawk, this day wrote a letter to Nancy, another to Molly, and a third to Isaac Quaquenboss, &c., with a pass.

*Tuesday 11th.*—A fine morning, no wind, but a strong breeze; the vessels out of sight. I sent Clement for Abram and Thomas, Mohawks, to let them know the general's pleasure, and give them an answer to what they said last Friday. In this manner; viz.:

*"Brethren of the Six Nations:* It is now four days since you spoke to me on two points, to wit, concerning trade, and my going on another expedition. The reason of my not answering them sooner, was expecting to have heard what General Amherst's pleasure was concerning an expedition this way, so that I might speak to you with certainty. No such letter is as yet come, but daily expected. However, from the conversation I had yesterday, with the general here, I can answer you. With regard to trade I can say no more than what I have already told you, and you may depend upon it, the trifling trade now here, you, nor your people at home, are to judge by, as in war time every thing is dear—*Gave them three strings of wampum.*

"As to the other and last point, I am surprised at, as you, a few days ago, assured me that all your people, and the rest of the Confederacy, were determined to act heartily with us during the war, and now press me not to proceed with the army, and say I act rashly, in not first going home, and considering what farther steps are proper to be taken. It seems to me that you have very little confidence in Providence, and no regard for my honor, or character, or your own, when you desire me to stay inactive behind. I desire to know what part you, the Six Nations, will act, in case your request should be

complied with,—then I will give you my answer. *Returned their belt.* The general desired me to stop the Cayugas and others from coming here (as he finds it impracticable to move from here on an expedition), but to keep a few Indians to scout about here to prevent scalping. He told me that he entirely gave up all thoughts of proceeding to La Galette, but desired I would keep it very private.

*Wednesday 12th.*—Fine morning, but cold, wind northerly. Last night arrived a boat of Parker's detachment, with four prisoners of the ship's crew taken yesterday, as they went on shore to shoot, who, they say, vary in their accounts. One of them says that each of the vessels have forty men on board, partly militia, &c.; that one of them carries ten, the other eight guns, some of them twelve pounders; that they were to cruise eighteen days, then return to St. Paris; that they were then fifteen days out; that two hundred men who were at Cadaraghi had lately abandoned it, and retired to Isle Galot; that on said island, Monsr. Levee \* had about two thousand men entrenched, and had Mr. Mercier, an artillery officer, with him; that the vessels are to go to Point Paris or La Galette soon; that the third vessel is ready all to her rigging; and that their allowance of provision was 1 lb. of bread and one quarter of pork per diem. About 12 o'clock, an express arrived from Albany, but no letters from General Amherst. Some letters from his army of the 3d inst. say that he is building a large five sided fort, and five redoubts, which, if all the men are employed, will be completed this season, and that the troops are not to go to winter quarters before finished. This evening, I sent the interpreter to call the Seneca sachems, in order to [hear] what they said.

Some days ago, a party of the Canajoharies came on my call, and offered to go to La Galette on a scout, as soon as I pleased. I thanked them, and told them the sooner the better,

\* Or Sevee; indistinct in manuscript. [*Recté Lévis.*]

and named the morrow for them to set off on this scout. At 6 o'clock, P.M., the sachems and young men of each nation assembled at my tent, when Abraham, chief of the Mohawks, delivered my answer to them; on which four of the chiefs withdrew to consider of what I had said, and what I desired to know of them concerning their desire I should not go any more against the enemy this campaign. They returned in about half an hour, and said that as they had agreed to our going to, and destroying Niagara, they now hoped and expected, that I would comply with their request, adding a great deal about the loss my falling would be to all their nations; and farther, that although they have (agreeably to my repeated advice) spoke to, and used their interest with all the nations, as far as the Canatas, yet, they did not think the alliance so firm as to push things too far, lest they might alter their resolutions, and think you grasping at too much. "This is only our opinion and advice, concerning our allies; as for us, we are determined to stand by you agreeably to our engagements." They thanked me for the promises made them of a trade being established on a fair and regular plan, as soon as the war is over, and assured me, that would be the most effectual method we could take of attaching all the surrounding nations to his majesty's interest. I then told them, that I would take their request into consideration, and give them my answer as soon as ready—on which the meeting broke up.

As the general told me two days ago, that he could not proceed to La Galette, or carry on any expedition, and desired I would stop the Cayugas and other Indians coming, I think to make them this answer; viz.: that if they will engage to keep this post of Oswego, and all other our posts between this and the Mohawks' country, free from scalping by the Swegatchie or other Indians, I will agree to their request. This will please them, and lay them under obligations to us, at the same time that the general does not intend anything

that way. The general sent a boat this day with some orders to Captain Parker.

*Thursday 13th.*—Fine weather and very warm. The two vessels set off for Niagara with provisions. About two o'clock a Swegatchie Indian from the Cayuga nation arrived here; was sent by the Onondagas, whom I sent to Swegatchie for intelligence, and left there with Captain Parker's party last night, and expects they will be here this evening.

*Friday 14th.*—Fine weather. The scout, I sent for intelligence to La Galette, arrived, and brought the following accounts and news, viz.: that on his way thither, he was met by a canoe full of Swegatchie Indians, who were encamped at Point Paris with some French. They went with them to their camp, and told them they were sent by me and the Six Nations, with a message to them, which they would deliver to them in their castle, on which they decamped. The French also decamped on their leaving them, and burnt every thing at Point Paris, and retired to Isle Galot. On their arrival at their castle, they all assembled, and then my messenger told them, I sent them to acquaint them that our army would go that way and if they would quit the French interest, and leave the settlement, they had an opportunity of saving themselves, and their families. If not, this would be the last warning they were to expect. They, for answer, desired the messengers to return me their hearty thanks for the advice I gave them, and the care I showed for their safety, and assured me in the most solemn manner, that they would not only quit the French interest, but on our approach meet and join us, and show us the best way to attack the enemy on the island, who were not above six hundred. They desired we would make all the haste possible, lest on General Wolfe's being repulsed, the enemy might send up large reinforcements to La Galette, and by that means baffle our design, and charge them with treachery. They told me the enemy carried away most of their cannon from Isle Galot, on one Mr. Bearn's intelligence

of our army being intended to go down the river St. Lawrence. I immediately communicated this intelligence to Brigadier General Gage. About 5 o'clock, I sent a scout of thirty-two Canajoharies, Oneidas, and Onondagas, under the command of Captain Fonda, to La Galette. With him went Lieutenant Francis, Captain Tiebout, Ensign Roberts, and three battoe men of my own, with orders to bring prisoners for intelligence, and make all the useful observations they possibly could. They set off in four whale boats.

*Saturday 15th.*—Rain in the morning, but a northerly wind cleared up the weather, so that the works were carried on very briskly. This morning, Bunt, chief of Onondaga, with his three sons, and others came to acquaint me that they were resolved to go on a scout to La Galette, and set off the day after to-morrow. Silver Heels, Daniel, and others, told me they were resolved, also, to go as soon as Captain Lottridge returned from Cayuga. About 10 o'clock, the general called me, Colonels Haldimand, Massey, and Graham to his hut, when he asked our opinions what number of men we thought sufficient to carry on the fort, so as to leave it this campaign on barbette, which, he said, was as far as the engineer expected to get it, and what number of men for the guards of the camp, woods, &c., and also, what number of men we thought necessary for incidental duty or fatigue. We were of opinion that 1100 men would be sufficient to work at the fort, 200 for guards in our absence, 100 for incidental fatigues or other duties, and an addition of 42 men to Captain Schuyler's company of battoe-men. Then the general cast the whole up, and it appeared that there were about 1000 rank and file to go on an expedition, besides Indians, the number then unknown, as they were constantly coming in from different quarters, and the Cayugas all expected the next day. I told the general that our going and destroying La Galette, would be the means of drawing all the Swegatchie Indians away from the French [interest], and that if we did not

attempt it now, it might be the means of riveting them more firmly in it. Besides that, our destroying *La Galette*, might make us masters of the French vessels, which then would be out of the way of any relief. All he said was, that it all depended on General Wolfe. After various opinions, our meeting ended in nothing, no resolution having been taken. A little after, the general told me I had better stop the Cayugas then on their way, and send those here home, by telling them the season was too far advanced, and could not complete this post if we went on any expedition, &c. About 1 o'clock, Captain Lotteridge arrived from Cayuga, with Lieutenant Hair, Red Head, and one Seneca, and reported that the Cayugas had received them kindly, and would all be here to-morrow, and desired them to acquaint me, that in case I should be gone on my march, they would overtake me before we could come to action, in which they were all resolved to act the best part they could. A number of Onondagas arrived just now, who came and told me they were come to join us, and that the rest of their nation were all coming with the same intent, and expected we were ready to proceed; if not, they would go by themselves against the enemy. The general told me this evening he had a letter by express from General Amherst, but no news, nor nothing of his proceeding to Mt. Real, or elsewhere, as I can hear.

*Sunday 16th.*—Fine fall weather, windy and dry. An express arrived here from General Amherst, with letters to Brigadier Gage, inclosing him an extract of General Stanwix's letter to him, dated at Fort Bedford, the 16th of August, wherein he tells him that on the taking of Niagara, the French abandoned their posts at Winango, [Venango] River Boeuf, and Presque Isle; and on account of the lowness of the waters, were obliged to burn all their bateaus, &c. This, also, prevented the General sending Major Tulican<sup>1</sup> with 400 Royal Americans to relieve the garrison of Niagara, so that now he

<sup>1</sup> Tullikens.

waits to hear from Niagara what time they can send boats to Presque Isle for the transportation of that body of troops. General Amherst recommends to Stanwix, the sending Colonel Boquet to command at Niagara, if convenient. The general showed me the letter he wrote the 10th inst. to General Amherst, wherein he tells him that it is impossible to do more with the few troops he has, than to make this post tenatable by the latter end of October, and bring up provisions for it and Niagara. As the building there will not be finished until very late, having so few hands, it will be very difficult to get the garrison from them this season. On the whole, the general seemed much perplexed, and said he wished he had not written to Stanwix about the garrison. He also shewed me two letters he had written Bradstreet, in one of which he tells him that unless provisions are sent up with more speed, and greater quantities than hitherto, he would be obliged to abandon Niagara, and these works. Shortly after, the general called me, Colonels Haldimand, Massey, and Graham, to his hut, to learn what intelligence Mr. De Quagne\* learned from the French prisoners, by which the general would have it, that the enemy were very strongly entrenched there, with numbers superior to ours. After all, he desired the opinion of the gentlemen present, not as a council of war, but to enlighten him, as he vowed he was at a loss what step to take. The first that spoke his opinion was Colonel Massey, who said he thought it would be imprudent to go with any thing but a flying light body of troops—about 500—in order to destroy La Galette. I gave the general my opinion as thus—that I was apprehensive [*i.e.* was of opinion] a body of six hundred men might carry La Galette, and the Indians from thence, which would be a thing of great consequence; that if the enemy were weak at Isle Gallot, they might probably, on our destroying La Galette, abandon it, if they did not learn our small number, which should be carefully concealed; that

\* M. de Couagne, French interpreter; at this time, stationed at Niagara.



the vessels might also fall, by our succeeding at La Galette. If we found the enemy too powerful, I thought we could retreat with care, and good conduct; that if we did not attempt anything that way, it might probably fix the Swegatchies firmer in the French interest, and be the means of establishing a stronger post there than ever. The other two gentlemen were very reserved, Haldimand in particular. We broke up without any resolution. The general followed me, and desired I would turn the thing in my mind seriously, and let him know my thoughts further about it. I, on this, spoke with Colonel Massey upon the subject, who said he would gladly go in case I went. I told him I was resolved to go if allowed, and would go directly and throw myself in the general's way, expecting he will ask me my opinion. I did so several times, even to the tent door, with his aid-de-camp and brigadier major, but he avoided talking with me on the subject.

*Monday 17th.*—Very wet weather; no works going on. I intend this day to ask the general for 600 men, to go to La Galette, as the Indians here and there, both, are desirous of it. If he will not agree to it, I shall then desire liberty to go home. Thomas Aaron and his family left this yesterday, and took one of the prisoners, taken from the with them. I wrote to Nancy by them, and to my bouwmeester.\* This day, an express arrived from General Amherst, with letters to General Gage, by which, I heard Mr. Gage say, he did not expect anything to be done this way. Accounts from General Wolfe not very favorable. I received a letter from Mr. Amherst, dated 11th inst., another from Mr. Croghan with all his conferences. His letter is dated 16th of August; had not yet received my letter, and three Mohawk Indians. Very severe weather all day.

*Tuesday 18th.*—Cold, raw, windy morning, after the

\* A Bouwmeester is a surveyor, in Nederduitsche; the term has sometimes been applied to the overseer of a farm.

severest night I ever remember for wind and rain. I caught a fellow in my tent drunk, with his firelock. He crept in from the weather. Sent him away to the guard, not as a prisoner, but relieved. I this day wrote to General Amherst pr. return of the express. The Indians very impatient to know whether we are to proceed or not. I have put them off from time to time, in hopes there would be something for them and us to do.

*Wednesday 19th.*—A fine fall morning; wind at S. E. The Hunt's three sons, with seven Onondagas more, came and were fitted out to go scalping to La Galette. I ordered a whale boat for them, and everything necessary. Gave a silver gorget to the Bunt's grandson, who was appointed their leader. His name is Punch.—Soon after Missarung with six more came and were clothed, and joined the other ten Onondagas. In the evening, Karraghiagygo, with eight more, came to acquaint me, they were resolved to go a scalping by themselves the next day. In the evening, the wind turned to N. W., and rained very hard, and blew a severe storm. Rained all night.

*Thursday morning 20th.*—A cold N. E. wind; blew so hard that the parties could not set off, the lake being too rough. I have observed, since I gave my opinion for going to La Galette, that the general is not free or friendly with me, but rather shuns me. This day I answered the Ganughsharagey Indians, and told them, on my return, I would either give them some provisions or money, for their families, which they were very thankful for.

*Friday 21st.*—A fine morning, but cold. I sent Printop over the river to hurry out the several parties, who are going a scalping. About 10 o'clock, I fitted out Karraghiagygo's party, consisting of nine men, with everything necessary. The sachems of the Senecas, &c., came to know what we were resolved to do, whether to proceed or not. I told them I would answer them in the evening. The Bunt being drunk prevented meeting them. This afternoon, the two parties set

off for La Galette with Captain Lotteridge, and the other with Lieutenant Hair. They are to be back in ten days if the weather permits. No news from any quarter; the express expected.

*Saturday 22d.*—A fine morning. I took a whale boat, and Colonel Massey another, and went six or eight miles along the lake side a shooting—little or no game. We went up a creek which is called Red Head's creek. About two miles, very navigable and deep, but no farther. Good fishing in said creek, and beaver also. Nothing extraordinary happened in my absence—the sick all ordered down.

*Sunday 23d.*—A dark morning; wind N. W., no account of our vessels yet from Niagara. We begin to fear they are lost. This day, to the amount of one hundred and fifty sick were sent downwards. Last night, some more Onondagas joined us, and others to come this day from the Falls. About 5 o'clock, several Onondagas came to my tent, and told me they were come according to promise, and are ready to go with us upon service; that their chieftain, named Teiyoquande, notwithstanding he had lost one of his children, whom he had just buried, came with them, and was also resolved to join the army with his party, as he found the Six Nations were now heartily engaged in our cause. I bid them welcome; told them I was sorry for my friend's loss, and would condole it to-morrow. They farther say, that they were told at the falls, by our people and the Indians that there was no expedition going forward, and that they might turn back. They answered, that as they were so far on their journey, and had promised faithfully to return hither, they would come and know from me the certainty, which they now desired I would acquaint them with. I told them I would advise them on the whole, the next day—so parted, after drinking with them, and giving them pipes, tobacco, &c. I also gave Bunt clothes for himself and family—thus ended.

*Monday 24th.*—A very fine morning; quite calm. Our

two vessels returned from Niagara, with all the Yorkers that were left there. They say, Captain Lee with fourteen men went to Presque Isle, in order to learn where Mr. Stanwix was; the Mississagays, of whom there came about one hundred and fifty, to Niagara, brought and delivered up two of our men, taken at Belle Famille in the battle of the twenty-fourth. About 10 o'clock, Weaver, the post, arrived here with but few letters. The news by him was, that General Wolfe was still at Quebec, destroying all the country about. The sachems and warriors of the Onondaga and Seneca nations came to my tent, in order to know what was to be done, or whether the army was to proceed or not. On which I asked General Gage what answer I should make to them. He desired I would tell them, that as soon as the scouting party returned, and he could learn from the prisoners they might bring in, what news at La Galette, or that way, he would enable me to answer them. This I told them, and so parted, after condoling with Tyioquande.

*Tuesday 25th.*—Very fine, warm weather. The Seneca and Onondaga sachems came to my tent, when the former told me, they had lost three of their people since they came here, and many more now very sick, so that they wanted to return home; besides they did not see any sign of going forward. I sent a black string of wampum by them, strongly recommending to their nation, in whose country Niagara was, to keep a good look out, and take care that none of that garrison or traders be molested; otherwise the general will be obliged to take proper measures to punish such a people.

Our two vessels to sail this afternoon for Niagara with provisions. Mr. Vanscaack, and other traders are also going there this day with my pass. Cobus Van Eps asked liberty to go to trade at Irono-quat with the Chenussio Indians. As it is near to their settlement, I agreed to it. Besides, it will be some plea for us to claim some right of building there and trading.

*Wednesday 26th.*—A fine morning; wind at south east. I rec<sup>d</sup> a letter from Dominie Hardwick. Mr. Carty arrived here with a number of sheep for the army; lost several by the way. Nothing new this day.

*Thursday 27th.*—a little rain this morning; cleared up with a N. W. wind. Daniel, Belt, Silver Heels, &c., left this on their way home. Gave them some money, orders, &c., and so discharged them. This day nothing new.

*Friday 28th.*—Morning clear, and wind at N. W.; blew hard all the night. This day wrote two letters for London; the one to Alderman Baker; the other to Messrs. Champion and Hayley. About 9 o'clock P.M., Captain Fonda, Mr. Roberts, and twenty of the party, who left this the 14th, returned for the want of provisions, and a good guide. The rest of them are gone on to La Galette, in number, ten. They also saw the two parties pass, who left this last week.

*Saturday 29th.*—A fine morning. Mr. Carty called upon me, and took my two letters for London, and one for Mr. Van Der Huyden. I sent Captain Butler to make a discovery, if he could, of a meadow which is two miles. Returned and found it would not do; is grown over with brush. Dined on a Michaelmas goose with General Gage. The Indians, who came from near Cadaraghqui, say they heard several cannon fired, they think, on board the vessels, about the 25th of this month.

*Sunday 30th.*—Very fine morning. Work goes on very well, and the fort in great forwardness. At 12 o'clock, a boat with Onondagas, some whites, and two French Indians, arrived here. They were Bunt's son's party with Lieutenant Hair, who, meeting a French party coming this way a scalping, turned them back, and brought two Skanendaddy Indians to me from said party. On their arrival here at my tent, they told me all the news they heard in Canada, which I immediately acquainted General Gage of, and is as follows, viz.: That General Wolfe is yet before Quebec; that eleven hun-

dred Ottawas arrived at their and the Coghawaga castles before they left home, and were plundering the country; that the priest of La Gallette<sup>1</sup> told them there were twenty-five hundred men on Isle Galot, fortifying themselves as fast as they could; that about seven days ago, a scout of seven men from General Amherst to Gage, was taken at La Gallette with their letters; that there is no news from General Amherst, than that he is at Crown Point building vessels and a fort; that these two Indians were sent by the rest of the party to know whether the news which the Swegatchie Indians told them they received from me was true; if it was, they assured me that all their, as well as the Coghawaga castles, would pay all due regard to what I said to them, and never more assist the French, &c.

1st October, Monday.—Fine weather. Colonel Massey and sundry other gentlemen and myself, went in two boats to Red Head's creek to hunt and fish, but had no luck, so returned. This day an express arrived with letters for the general and others; also newspapers, but little or no news in them.

October 2d, Tuesday.—Fine morning; work goes on very well. Gave one McMaster, a pass to trade at Niagara with four battoe loads. The two Indians, who came from Canada, are gone this day to Onondaga to see some of their friends there, and promise to return in four or five days here, and carry a message from me to their nations. The Bunt's

<sup>1</sup> François Picquet, sometimes called "the apostle of the Iroquois," was born in Burgundy, December 6, 1708. He entered the Sulpitian order, was ordained priest April 10, 1734, and arrived in Canada July 6 of the same year. He served at Montreal and at the mission of the Lake of Two Mountains, now known as Oka, obtaining in both places a great influence over the Indians. With the design of winning the Iroquois to Christianity and the French alliance he established, in 1749, the mission of La Presentation (near La Gallette, on the south side of the St. Lawrence, at or near the site of the present Ogdensburg), where he collected about 3000 Indians. Throughout the war he was very active in the French interest in western Canada. In 1760 he returned to France by way of Louisiana. He died at Verjon July 15, 1781. See André Chagny, *François Picquet "Le Canadien."*

daughter-in-law was buried this day, after which he came and dined with me, and assured me he would not move until I did, be it which way it would. At the same time, he told me he would be glad to know what was to be done by us, whether to advance or not, that he might manage affairs accordingly with his nation. I told him that as soon as the general let me know his resolution, I would acquaint him. Then parted for this time.

The general told me this afternoon, that General Amherst wrote him the 21st ult. from Crown Point, but nothing of his moving on, nor of ours here, but expects Mr. Gage with his troops will finish this fort, and complete Fort Stanwix.

*Wednesday 3d.*—Fine pleasant morning for work. The general read part of General Amherst's letter to him of the 21st ult. from Crown Point, wherein he expresses his concern at Mr. Gage's not taking post at La Galette, which is so advantageous a pass, and nothing to hinder it, as all their force is employed below. He then says, that he expects, as he is determined not to take post at La Galette, that he will complete Fort Stanwix and this post, as well as cut open a communication between this and the Mohawk river; that he has written the several governments to continue their troops the month of November, which he does not doubt they will come into; and a great deal more concerning the garrisons, provisions, and artillery—six hundred men to be here. He seemed greatly concerned on the whole, and was much surprised at the general's manner of writing. In the evening, he desired I would take up my quarters in one of the barracks, and then walked away. The boat returned from Fish Creek, and brought back the provisions intended for the party on the scout so long; but on seeing no signs of them the sergeant returned.

*Thursday 4th.*—Began to rain about 7 of the clock. The works quitted thereby. This day, invited the General, Colonel Haldimand, Colonel Massey, Colonel Graham, Hancy, Fenton

and Benton to dine with me. In the afternoon, I asked the general how long he thought it necessary to keep me here. He answered no longer than [until] the scouts returned, who are gone to La Gallette, or that it was agreeable to me. This day, received a letter from the general at Crown Point, concerning a party of Mohawks who were detained there by him until he heard their character from me. I answered said letter the same day.

*Friday 5th.*—A fine morning; no wind. All hands at work. A party of Royal Americans sent to Fort Stanwix in order to enable the garrison to make roads and carry on the works there. Mr. Rivet sent to view the three posts between this and Fort Stanwix. The three men who were to be shot are pardoned. This day ten Cayugas arrived here from their country. On their coming to my tent, I condoled with three strings of wampum their losses, and then desired they would let me know what news in their country. They told me that their people were very sickly, and that several had died of the bloody-flux. They told me that their sachems were very negligent, and did not pay that regard or attention to business, which they, the young men, expected they would, and at this time, thought they should. Wherefore they came of themselves to see me at Oswego, and to know what was to be done further; that they expected to have another message sent to them in case we wanted them, and that they would all have come to us. They further added, that on the sachems' finding that they were coming this way, they sent a string of wampum by them, desiring to acquaint me they were in great distress for want of smiths in their country to mend their arms, &c., and begged I would send them such. I told them I would speak to them the next day—gave them pipes, tobacco, rum, &c., and parted for that time. This day Bassy Dunbar<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bazel Dunbar, appointed Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment, Royal Americans, January 12, 1756.



and Lieutenant Pionier<sup>1</sup> of the Royal Americans, fought a duel, in which the former received a shot in the breast through the lungs, which is thought will be mortal.

*Saturday 6th.*—A dark, hazy morning and warm, after a good deal of rain in the night. All hands at work as usual. This day the first range of officers' barracks is to be raised.

*Sunday 7th.*—Fine, warm day. The general and I took a ride to the half way creek with a guard of the light infantry. Dined with him. Captain Fonda returned from the next Oneida station, from whence to the ford at the Three Rivers,<sup>2</sup> he marked out a road, with three Onondaga Indians whom I employed for that purpose, and says it will not be above ten miles distance. The general much pleased at their finding so good and short a road.

*Monday 8th.*—Excessive hot weather. The sloops or schooners arrived from Niagara and brought five prisoners of ours from thence, who were taken in Major Grant's affair on the 24th July at Belle Famille. One of them is son of Mr. Guist, who gives a very good account of the Detroit settlement, &c. He says they expected to be drove from there by me, after Niagara was taken, and believes had we attempted it, they would all fly before us. Colonel Cole,<sup>3</sup> of Rhode Island, arrived here yesterday, and brought me a letter from Mr. Hunter.

This day Captain Lotteridge and his party of Onondagas and Oneidas returned from their scout, and brought in three prisoners and two scalps, which they took between La Gallette and the island they are fortifying. They bring us the agreeable news of Quebec's having surrendered to the English army the 18th of September. Mt. Calm [Montcalm] killed—shot through the breast. General Wolfe killed, and the next in command, Mr. Ramsay, with six hundred in the citadel, capi-

<sup>1</sup> Probably Peter Penier, appointed Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment March 8, 1757.

<sup>2</sup> See map, vol. II. p. 530.

<sup>3</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Cole

tulated. The army retired to a river about fifteen leagues above Quebec. Mr. Levv, going to Quebec with fifteen hundred men, was defeated by our people under the command of Murray.<sup>1</sup> The general proposes sending an express with the news to General Amherst at daybreak to-morrow.

*Tuesday 9th.*—Fine morning; wind at S. E. I wait for the return of four Mohawks yet out about La Gallette. When they return I propose to go home, the general having told me there was nothing more to do at present or for this campaign. The party of Onondagas, who returned yesterday with the prisoners and scalps, came to my tent with the rest here, and divided their prisoners and scalps. I gave one prisoner in the room of Bunt's daughter-in-law, named Kahiuenta, with three thousand wampum. I this day gave De Couagne instructions going to Niagara. The two vessels sailed for that place this afternoon, with provisions, artillery, rigging, sheep, &c. In the afternoon, about thirty Senecas, with their chief man, the Drunkard, arrived here. Mr. Guist came to know if I had any commands down the country, as he was to set off for his regiment next morning with our battoes. Gave him some, and parted. Mr. Edward Cole, of Rhode Island, applied to me for advice and liberty to trade at Niagara.

*Wednesday 10th.*—Fine weather; wind at S. E.; fair for the two vessels. The Onondagas came to know what resolution the general had come to, on examining the prisoners brought in by the Indians, agreeably to his promise made them several days ago. I told them I would acquaint them this day with the general's resolution, concerning what they wanted to know. I spoke with the general about it, who desired I would acquaint them the season of the year was so far advanced, and so much work to be done here to finish the fort, that he did not intend to proceed further this campaign, and that they might return to their respective habitations and country. He desired I would return them thanks for their many ser-

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the story had become confused in transmission

vices this campaign, and hoped they would be ready the next to join when called upon. This afternoon the Seneca sachems and warriors came to my tent, when I condoled their losses, and then talked to them upon business, and told them I would, the next day, meet all the nations here assembled, and settle all matters with them.

*Thursday 11th.*—Cloudy weather; wind at south. This day the post arrived with letters from the army, and papers of the 1st inst., with an account of Prince Ferdinand's beating the French army.<sup>1</sup> This day I had a general meeting with all the Indians here, viz: Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas, Oneidas and Mohawks, when I spoke to them in the general's name; returned them thanks for their services and attendance here this time past; told them that as the general only proposed finishing the fort in hand here, he did not intend to move further, so discharged them. I then spoke to them all in presence of three Indians sent by the Swegatchie and Coghna-uagey Indians to me on business. The first belt was to acquaint them of the general's not going forward this year, and that I had complied with their request, and I saw they did not choose I should go that way; and I told them that I expected they would always comply with my desire, whenever I might apply to them—*Gave a Belt.* *Secondly:* I desired they would all exert and interest themselves in the protection of Niagara, Oswego, and all the posts we have in their country. I also told them that if the Swegatchie Indians and others should attempt to molest any of said posts, or touch any of his majesty's subjects, for the future, I never would speak a word in their favor, but advise the general to cut them to pieces; so hoped they, as their friends, would be careful to prevent them plunging themselves into danger and destruction; that as these forts were for the protection of their country, as well as of that of the trade intended to be carried on with them and their allies, it behooved them to do all they

<sup>1</sup> The battle of Minden, August 1, 1759.

could for the safety of them—*A Belt. Thirdly:* A large black belt sent to the Swegatchie, Coghnowagey and Skanendaddy Indians, letting them know that I have hitherto befriended them; that they have it in their power now, by quitting the French, to become once more a happy people, but if, contrary to the many and solemn professions made to me and the Six Nations, and the assurances they lately, by belts and strings of wampum, gave me of their fixed resolutions to abandon the French, they should act a different part, they must then expect no quarter from us—*Gave a large Belt of Black Wampum mixed.* I then told the Indians I proposed leaving this place in a few days, and that they might expect to hear from me as soon as there was anything of consequence to communicate. They made answer that as it was now late, they would to-morrow say something in answer.

*Friday 12th.*—Rained all the night. Morning wet, so that the works could not be carried on. Wrote to General Amherst this morning per servant, as the post was sent off unknown to me. At 3 o'clock P.M., the Onondaga, Seneca and Cayuga chiefs and warriors came to my tent, when their speaker told me they had all attentively heard what I yesterday said and recommended to their nation; and they assured me, by a belt of white wampum, that they would keep a careful eye over Niagara, Oswego, and all our other posts in their country. At the same time, they said, it would be hard to blame them should any little damage be done at any of the places mentioned, as the French, as well as we, are always persuading parties to fetch prisoners for intelligence. However, we might depend upon their using all their influence with their relations, the Swegatchies, Coghnowageys, and Skanendaddys to quit the French entirely, if not, they must suffer for it. *Here Gave the Belt.*

Next, the speaker said, it was the desire of the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas that I would send a smith and trader to each of their castles; also begged there might be a large

store of goods, &c., at Niagara, Oswego and Fort Stanwix, which, they said, would please the foreign nations more than anything. They then desired to know when I would leave this, that they might tie up their packs, take their hatchets in their hands, and escort me. I told them in two days, if the party of Mohawks returned in that time. I again strongly recommended the care of all the posts in this part of the country to them; promised to send them smiths, &c., and so parted.

Lieutenant Bassey Dunbar died this evening of his wound; and died in peace with mankind, he told Parson Ogilvie.<sup>1</sup> This day I gave orders for packing up, and preparing for a march homewards, as there is nothing to do here.

*Saturday Morning 13th.*—Wet; wind at N. W.; a fresh gale. This morning I began to back up my little things and prepare to set off to-morrow, if God pleases. I waited on the general for leave to go home, which he readily complied with. Also gave Mr. Ogilvie liberty to go with me, and desired I would let him know what I wanted, that he might order Major Christie to get everything ready for me. This night I supped with Colonel Massey, when all the company were very merry. The Onondagas and Senecas spoke for powder and presents, with wampum, which I gave them.

*Sunday 14th.*—Windy; dry weather; the wind at N. E. I was up early, and desired all hands to strike our tents, and load the battoes."

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. John Ogilvie was born in New York in 1723. He was a graduate of Yale College, and was appointed minister at Albany in 1748. He served as missionary among the Mohawks for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1764 he was appointed rector of Trinity Church, New York, where he died November 26, 1774. He had superintended the publication of an edition of the Book of Common Prayer in Mohawk.

# XI

## JOURNAL FAIT PAR LE S<sup>R</sup> LAFORCE, COMMANDANT LES BÂTIMENTS SUR LE LAC ONTARIO, DU SIÈGE DE NIAGARA. A COMMENCER DU 6 JUILLET 1759 JUSQU'AU 14 DUD<sup>R</sup>.

[From a copy of the original Journal, which is in the possession of M. René de Kerallain, Quimper, France.]

Au nom de Dieu et de la Glorieuse Vierge, &c.

Le Vendredy 6 Juillet, je suis arrivé à Niagara sur les 6 heures du soir, d'un petit vent de Nord-Est.

A 7 heures  $\frac{1}{2}$  dud. un soldat arriva qui rapporta que les sauvages venoient de faire 4 à 5 prisonniers dans le bord du désert et qu'il s'étoit sauvé seul; sur le champ 18 à 20 jeunes gens volontaires du fort, ont sortis pour reconnoître les morts. M. de Serviez,<sup>1</sup> Capitaine au Régiment de Royal Roussillon a sorti aussi avec un picquet de 50 hommes de troupes réglées pour soutenir les premiers détachements, lorsque ces volontaires ont été aux  $\frac{3}{4}$  du désert, ils ont reçu une décharge de mousqueterie d'environ 60 à 80 hommes qui ne nous ont tué personne, nos jeunes gens ont riposté mais inutilement puisqu'ils se sont trouvés cernés par cette bande de sauvage, et se sont sauvés au picquet de M. de Serviez, qui a soutenu un bout de temps et ensuite s'est replié au fort suivant l'ordre qu'il a reçu de M. Pouchot.

Nous avons eu pris ou tués dans cette affaire le S<sup>r</sup> Sau... dre, Blois Interprète des Iroquois et le fils du vieux f... nous

<sup>1</sup> Voir son nom, "Serviez," dans les Papiers de Levis, t. III, *Le... la Tour*, p. 4.

The notes on this journal are by M. de Kerallain

avons eu aussi 2 blessés qui se sont rendus au fort, qui sont les S<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Martin et Pramont.

Nous avons pensé que c'étoit un party des 5 nations qui venoit frapper et dont on avoit déjà menacé Niagara depuis plus d'un mois.

Ce matin, à la pointe du jour, 7 dud. les Anglais ont paru dans le désert et ont beaucoup parlés, dont plusieurs parlent bon français et ont fait beaucoup d'argalade,<sup>1</sup> nous avons vu sur le champ 6 berges qui sortoient du petit marais qui est à l'Est de Niagara, à une lieue, elles sont venues au large examiner la place, j'ay envoyé 2 fois ma chaloupe par ordre de M. Pouchot à la découverte, elle a rapportée quelle avoit vu beaucoup de berges et de tentes dans le petit marais et beaucoup de monde qui travailloit depuis leur camp jusqu'au bord du désert. J'ay eu ordre sur le champ de mettre à la voile si le vent le permettoit pour voir si l'ennemy étoit justement en force et s'il avoit de l'artillerie, que s'il n'en avoit pas de tacher de ruiner ses berges et rester à croisé devant leur camp.

A midy j'ay sorti de la Rivierre avec les vents de N.O. et suis venu vis à vis le camp anglois ils m'ont salués de 2 coups de canon à boulets, je leur en ay rendu 4 coups ils ont recommencé et moy de même, mais leurs boulets ne se rendoient point à bord, vu que mes ordres sont de ne point m'engager sous leurs batteries, cependant beaucoup de mes boulets se rendoient à leur camp.

A 7 heures  $\frac{1}{2}$  du soir je me suis approché de leur garde avancée et je leur ay envoyé 3 coups de canon, Je ne sçai quel effet ils ont faits; A soleil couché je me suis aperçu qu'ils avoient levés leurs tentes du petit marais pour s'approcher du fort et n'en ont laissé que peu au camp de réserve ils n'ont faits à ce que j'ay pu voir aucun mouvement proche du fort.

Dimanche 8 depuis hier soir jusqu'à ce matin j'ay resté à croiser devant le fort et observer si l'anglois ne passoit point

<sup>1</sup> *Sic*, pour "Algarade," sans doute.

de l'autre côté de la Rivière, je n'ay rien vu de nouveau, sur les 6 heures du matin je me suis approché du camp anglois et luy ay tiré en 3 différentes bordées 15 coups de canon, ils m'en ont rendu à peu près autant, à 9 heures M. Pouchot m'a fait signal de faire voile pour Chouaguin, J'ay envoyé ma chaloupe à terre pour prendre ses ordres, et je les ay reçus à midy pour rester icy à continuer ce que j'ay fait depuis hier; à 1 heure après midy j'ay approché à bonne portée du camp, et ay tiré sur leurs berges. Je n'ay pu voir quel effet mes coups leurs ont faits ils m'ont riposté vivement et j'ay été heureux que leurs boulets n'ayent point porté à bord quoyque 2 ayent bien razés. J'ay tiré dans ce temps 11 coups de canon et eux 6 coups, le fort n'a tiré jusqu'à ce temps que quelques coups sur peu de monde qui paroissoit dans le désert, mais depuis 2 heures jusqu'à 8 ils ont tirés beaucoup il est à présumer que l'anglois ouvre la tranchée dans le désert. Nous les avons vu travailler toute la journée dans le bord du bois ou ils ont fait un désert.

Il faut que leurs barques soient tirées dans le bois, vu que je n'en ay vu tout au plus 60 ou 80, avec un charoy<sup>1</sup> qui paroist grand et plat, il porte un mat et il y a aussy un canot d'écorce.

J'ay vu depuis le matin le feu des costes, je pense que [ce]<sup>2</sup> sont les gens du petit fort qui l'ont mis et se retirent au grand fort.

Sur les 7 heures nous avons vu beaucoup de décharges de coups de mousqueterie proche du fort nous pensons que cette [sic] une sortie que nos gens ont faite.

Lundi 9. Depuis hier au soir jusqu'à ce matin j'ay croisé entre le fort et le camp. Je n'ay rien vu de nouveau, le fort

<sup>1</sup> Le Dictionnaire du Dr. Dionne n'indique pas l'emploi de ces désignations des véhicules de terre pour les transports par eau. On en trouve pourtant des exemples dans les journaux de Mgr. Plessis.

*Charroy* est ici pour *Charrette*, et signifie *embarcation*. Les gens de la Louisiane avaient les mêmes expressions.

<sup>2</sup> Mot omis.



n'a tiré la nuit dernière que quelques coups de canons un nombre de 7 à 8, l'Ennemy n'en a tiré aucun, ce matin, à 6 heures j'ay approché du petit marais ou étoit le camp Je n'ay vu ny tentes ni berges et bien peu de monde, je pense que nous les avons chagriné hier et qu'ils ont monté leurs voitures<sup>1</sup> dans le bois, Je leur ay tirés quelques coups de canon auxquels ils n'ont point répondu, je ny ay point vu d'artillerie a moins qu'elle ne soit masquées, depuis 4 heures ce matin jusqu'à 6 le fort a beaucoup tiré et depuis ce temps ils ont été assés tranquils, a midy j'ay envoyé ma chaloupe à terre pour chercher des rouës d'affuts vu que toutes les miennes étoient cassés et des clous à pompes notre bâtiment faisant de l'eau depuis hier le canon l'a étonné et a fait ouvrir un bout de la coursiue de tribord J'ay été obligé d'en mettre 2 pièces à la calle par le deffaut des canons et affuts a 3 heures après midy ma chaloupe est revenue qui m'a appris que le S<sup>r</sup> Blain Off<sup>r</sup> Anglois étoit venu ce matin au fort de la part de son Général pour sommer M. Pouchot de se rendre proposition qui a été bien vite refusée, depuis ce temps ils n'ont fait aucun feu tant d'une part que de l'autre, à 3 h.  $\frac{1}{2}$  j'ay été devant ou étoit le fort Anglois, ayant eu ordre de M. Pouchot d'aller examiner s'il paroissoit encore bien des berges dans le marais, je n'ay pas plus vu que ce matin, je leur ay tiré 3 coups de canons, ils m'en ont rendu autant l'un après l'autre, je pense qu'il n'avoit qu'une seule pièce et que les autres sont en chemin pour mener au fort. Nous ne sçavons que penser à les voir manœuvrer si lentement.

L'Esquifve a passée la nuit dernière mouillée sur la Batture avec 2 pièces de canon a son bord pour observer s'il ne traversoit pas de berges de l'autre costé, tandis que je croisois plus au large. Les décharges de mousqueterie que nous avons entendu hier au soir étoient sur des sauvages qui aprochoient du fort on leur a tiré de la demie l'une.<sup>2</sup>

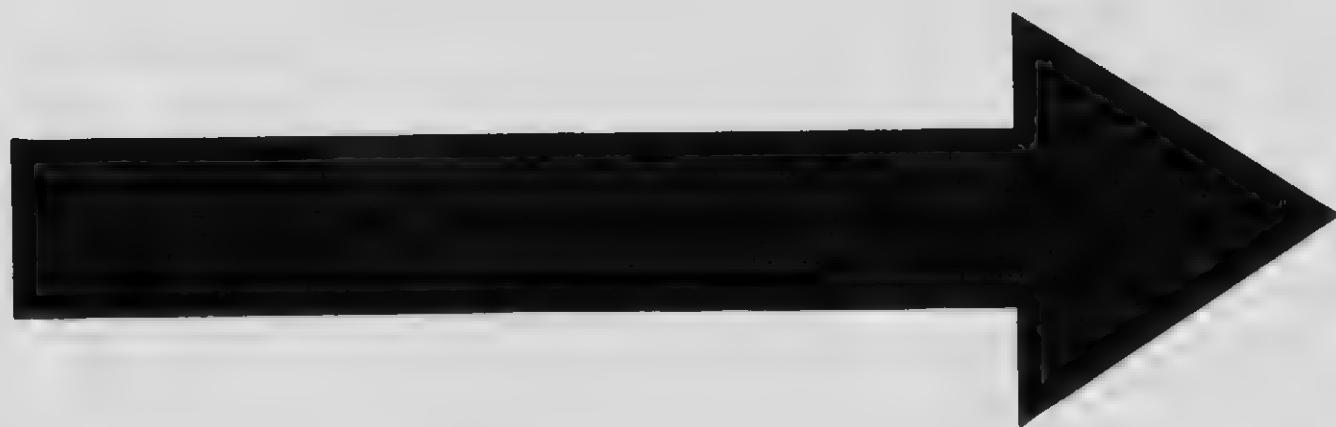
Mardy 10. Depuis hier au soir jusqu'à ce matin les vents

<sup>1</sup> Leurs bateaux.

<sup>2</sup> La demi-lune.

ont variés du O. au S.O. joly frais nous avons louvoyé toute la nuit devant le fort ; à la pointe du jour nous avons eu de la pluye et du tonnerre. Environ 2 heures ensuite le temps s'est paré, le fort n'a pas beaucoup tiré cette nuit, mais depuis le matin il n'a pas discontinué de faire feu de son artillerie, Je pense que l'Ennemy ouvre la tranchée, sur les 11 heures ce matin j'ay été sous la volée du camp anglois ou j'ay tiré 2 bordées sans qu'il m'aye répondu, je pense qu'il vouloit me laisser plus engager pour me désenparer j'ay ensuite couru ma bordée le long de la coste du sud environ 3 lieues voir s'il ne venoit point une autre division de berges, pour tacher de les ruiner, je n'ay rien vu qu'un batteau françois qui a élongé le long de la coste, c'est seurement un batteau qui a été en dérive de Niagara. J'ay vu aparence du vent de N.O. J'ay viré de bord au large étant près de terre à une portée de fusil, à 3 heures il s'est élevé un orage dans le N.O. avec des coups de tonnerre affreux des éclairs de la pluye en abondance et peu de vent qui a fait le tour du compas, j'ai été à my-canal afin de ne point m'engager sous les terres, à 5 heures du soir le temps s'est paré et le vent petit frais au N.O. j'ay fait route sur Niagara il continué toujours de tirer beaucoup.

Mercredy 11. Hier au soir sur les 9 heures les françois du fort ont fait un feu d'artillerie et mousqueterie très violent qui a duré 1 h.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Je n'ay pu voir quel feu les anglois faisoit étant trop au large et en calme, les vents sont venus ensuite au Nord bon frais, J'ay été toute la nuit à l'onvoyé pour ne me point afaler au sud ayant apparence de gros vent, Ce matin j'étois entre les grandes Ecores et Niagara environ 2 lieues plus bas les vents se sont rangés petit frais au N.E. J'ay couru sur le fort ensuite ils ont variés au sud. Je n'ay pu de tout le jour aprocher Niagara de près, ils n'ont pas tant tiré aujourd'huy qu'hier quoyque nous ayons vu assez souvent des volées de 5 à 6 coups de canons à la fois il ne paroît pas que l'Ennemy ayent encore des batteries d'establies vu qu'ils ne font aucun feu d'artillerie.



Jeudy 12 hier au soir sur les 9 heures le fort a commencé un feu d'artillerie et de mousqueterie considérable qui n'a point discontinué jusqu'à ce matin, il est surprenant que le feu soit si violent au monde qui est dans le fort, L'Ennemy a fait aussy plusieurs décharges de mousqueterie, Je ne sçai s'ils ont tiré du canon cette nuit n'ayant pu distinguer d'où sortait le feu d'artillerie au juste. Ce matin ils ont tirés plusieurs bombes sur le fort qui n'ont pas paru faire grand effet vüe qu'elles crevoient en l'air; ils ont continués tout le jour à en tirer mais très lentement, a Midy M. Pouchot m'a fait signal d'envoyer ma chaloupe à terre je l'ay envoyé sur le champ et l'ay amené jusqu'à l'entrée de la Rivierre ou j'ay distingué une tranchée que les anglois ont ouvert à la moitié du Désert qui ne paroît pas considérable, à 4 heures du soir ma chaloupe est revenu qui m'a rapporté un collier que 3 sauvages des 5 nations qui sont actuellement avec les Anglois devant le fort ont aporté à M. Pouchot. Ce collier est de porcelaine blanche aporté par un vieillard chef pour demander la paix avec Onontio, disant que les Anglois a force de présents, marchandises et eau de vie, les ont obligés d'accepter la hache, leur faisant entendre qu'à leur arrivée à Niagara, que ce fort seroit tout de suite à leur disposition, mais qu'à présent ils reconnoissoient leur faute et qu'ils étoient fachés d'avoir frapés sur Onontio et qu'ils le prioient d'oublier le tout à quoy M. Pouchot a répondu que l'intention de leur père n'avoit jamais été de faire de la peine à ses enfants, qu'il avoit eu le cœur gros les voyant venir fraper sur leurs frères, mais que puisqu'il reconnoissoit leur faute qu'ils n'avoient qu'à se retirer librement et qu'il oublieroit le passé, a quoy ils ont répondu que dès cette nuit ils abandonneroient l'Anglois, qu'ils prioient leur père que s'ils restoient quelques uns de leurs jeunes gens avec les Anglois et qu'ils tombassent à la domination françoise de les garder avec luy et d'en avoir soin se qu'il leur a été promis.

Ils ont donné un second collier pour ce qui suit, hier après

midy il y avoit 2 hommes de ces nations en parolle au fort pour le même sujet cy-dessus, on cessa le feu tant que ces hommes furent au fort, pendant ce temps les Anglois travaillèrent fortement à ouvrir une tranchée proche du fort de 200 toises; ce second collier est pour faire des excuses à Onontio de n'avoir point empesché les Anglois de travailler pendant ce temps et qu'ils ne pensoient pas qu'ils auroient saisis cette occasion pour le faire.

Ils en ont présentés un 3<sup>ème</sup> à des Mississagués et Outa8ois qui sont dans le fort, Ce collier est envoyé par les Loups de l'autre costé des Montagnes qui sont aussy au camp Anglois, Cette nation invite les Outa8ois à rester tranquille et ne point se mesler des disputes du françois et de l'Anglois de ce<sup>1</sup> trouver à un lieu dit à quelque distance du fort pour y tenir conseil, qu'ils avoient beaucoup de chose à leur dire. Les Outa8ois leur ont répondu par le même collier qu'ils n'ont point voulu accepter qu'ils ne les connoissoient point puisqu'ils prenoient le party de l'Anglois que pour eux ils étoient venus aider à leur père et qu'ils vouloient mourir avec luy. M<sup>r</sup> Pouchot a répondu aux 2 pr<sup>iers</sup> colliers par 2 autres, il leur en a donné un 3<sup>e</sup> pour les inviter à partir au plutôt et de prendre chacun le chemin de leur village, que moyennant cela tout ce qu'il avoit fait par le passé seroit enterré et qu'il n'y penseroit plus ce qu'ils ont promis.

M. Pouchot m'a écrit la lettre cy après, dont voicy la copie. Mon Cher Laforce nous tenons l'Ennemy assés bien, mais il avance son chemin il est à 200 toises du glacis voicy ou nous commencerons à le chauffer tout de bon, tenés vous à portée, si vous estes en estat de le faire, pour canonner sur la plaine vous l'inquiéterez sur les revers de ses tranchées si vous ne le pouvés pas allés voir du costé de frontenac ce qui se passe si le vent est bon, venés nous le dire au premier bon vent, c'est le seul service que vous nous puissiez rendre, autrement attendés autour d'icy les Evenements nous ferons connoître

<sup>1</sup> Sic, "de ce" pour "de se."

nos nécessités aprochés vous si nous vous demandons à terre je mettray un pavillon blanc dans une fenestre du derrière de la maison, si s'est de nécessité nous isserons le Grand pavillon et le petit ensemble. Ce 11 Juillet 1759. Signé Pouchot.

M. Corbin vous donnera tout le détail du Reste que je ne puis vous dire je n'ay point encore de nouvelle de la presqu'Isle.

Les Iroquois me disent qu'il n'y a personne à la presentation Si Laforce le peu il fera passer ce collier. Signé Pouchot.

Ce M. Corbin me fait dire par le S<sup>r</sup> Corbin mon second d'Envoyer led. S<sup>r</sup> Corbin porter ce collier à M. Le Général et qu'il n'a pas le temps de luy écrire étant encore après tenir conseil avec les Iroquois qu'il me charge d'informer M. le Général de ce qui se passe icy ne pouvant le faire il m'a fait dire aussy de côtoyer la coste du sud voir si je ne rencontrerois pas un convoy de 500 hommes qui apportent des vivres à l'Ennemy et de Tacher de le Ruiner, ensuite me mettre en lieu de faire rendre ces nouvelles. Les Iroquois lui ont dit qu'il n'y avoit que 3700 Anglois à faire le siège et qu'il y en avoit 3000 à Chouaguin, Je fais route pour découvrir cela depuis 5 heures, ce soir, jusqu'à 7 j'ay approché le retranchement Anglois ou j'ay tiré 10 coups de canon qui n'ont pü leur faire grand mal, raport à la coste qui est très haute et la batterie de la Rivierre qui m'empeschoit d'aborder de plus près. J'ay ensuite été au petit marais ou j'ay tiré 12 coups de canon sur leur camp ils m'en ont rendu autant qui ne m'ont point touché ils ont 3 pièces de canon montés dans cet endroit.

Le fort a fait un feu continuel tout le jour et il a augmenté beaucoup depuis soleil coucher jusqu'à 11 heures on diroit d'un tonnerre qui n'areste point tant le canon et la mousqueterie roule, Comme je fais route pour Frontenac et Chouaguin j'ay cessé d'entendre le feu, a minuit les vents sont au sud bon frais.

Vendredy 13 Juillet, depuis hier au soir les vents ont soufflés au sud bon frais et ce matin ils ont sauté au S.O. aussy bon frais. Je me suis trouvé à 6 heures du matin à

Kaskouchagon<sup>1</sup> proche de terre a portée de fusil jusqu'à Chouaguin pour découvrir le convoi qui doit porter des vivres à Niagara, sans pouvoir le voir il faut qu'il ne soit point encore en route, à 2 heures, après midy, je suis arrivé devant Chouaguin où j'ay trouvé 3 mille hommes Anglois dont les 5 nations ont parlés à Niagara, leur camp est situé à l'Est de la Rivière où étoit autrefois le fort Ontario, il y a un grand retranchement qui prend sur le bord du Lac, et qui va tomber sur la Rivière dans lequel est renfermé environ 250 tentes bien arrangées ce qui forme un beau coup d'œil, il y a aussy a environ 400 toises de ce retranchement en montant dans la Rivière une garde avancée qui est avny retranchée; J'ay vu une berge qui sortoit de la Rivière et venoit à la découverte de notre costé il croyoit seurement que Niagara étoit pris et que leur gens envoyoit la bâtiment à Chouaguin, j'ay laissé approcher cette berge qui a bien connue que nous n'étions point Anglois ce qu'il l'a empesché de venir sous notre volée j'ay issé flammes françoise et j'ay tiré en passant le camp 5 coups de canon à boulets auxquels ils n'ont point répondu. J'ay continué à observer l'endroit et j'ay fait ensuite route pour Frontenac où j'espère ne point trouver d'Ennemy.

Samedy 14. Je suis arrivé à Frontenac à 11 heures du matin après avoir envoyé au petit jour une chaloupe à Frontenac à la découverte estant resté à 3 lieues avec le bâtiment, elle m'a raporté que M. Corbière y estoit.

<sup>1</sup> Kuskouchagon.

## XII

### THE CAPITULATION OF NIAGARA.

[Enclosed in Amherst to Pitt, August 5, 1759: *Canadian Archives*,  
M. 213-2, C.O. 5: 56; formerly A. & W. I. 91-1.]

#### ARTICLES DE CAPITULATION POUR LE FORT ET LA GARNISON DE NIAGARA DE SA MAJESTÉ TRÈS CHRÉTIENNE LE ROY DE FRANCE.

Art. 1<sup>er</sup>.

Accordé.

La Garnison Sortira avec Armes et Bagages, Tambour battante, Meche allumée par les deux bouts, une petite piece de Canon, pour L'Embarque sur des Voitures qui seront fournier par Monsieur le Général de Sa Majesté Britannique pour être conduite à la Nouvelle York par le Chemin le plus court et dans le plus court espace de tems.

2<sup>o</sup>.

Accordé.

La Garnison remettra ses Armes en S'embarquant et conservera ses bagages.

3<sup>o</sup>.

Accordé.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> les Officiers conserveront leur Armes et Equipage.

4<sup>o</sup>.

Accordé, excepté celle qui seroient sujet de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Les Dames et Femmes Francoise et leur Enfants qui sont ici, ainsi que L'aumonier seront renvoyés a Montreal et il leur sera fourni par Monsieur le Général de sa Majesté Britannique, le voitures et subsistance necessaire pour le voyage et ce dans le plus court espace de tems qu'il sera possible Jusqu'au premier poste francoise celles qui voudront suivre leur Marie Seront les Maitresse.

5<sup>o</sup>.

Accordé.

Les Malade et Blessé obligé de rester dans le Fort pourront en sortir avec tout ce qu'il leur appartient et seront conduite en Sureté, lorsqu'il



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Seront en état de supporter le Voyage à la destination du reste de la Garnison En Attendant il sera fournis une Garde pour veiller a leur seureté.

6°.

Accordé

Le Commandant et tous les Officiers de Troupes elle même et tout ce qui est au service du Sa Majesté très Chrétienne sortiront de la place sans être Sujet a aucun acte de represaille de quelque nature que se puisse être et sous quelque pertexte que ce soit.

7°.

Tous les Bat-  
teau et Bat-  
teaux, sont  
comptis sous  
cet Article.  
L'on peut  
entendre ceux  
qui sont actuel-  
lement sur le  
platon les  
autres n'étant  
point a Notre  
disposition.

Il sera fait un Inventaire de Munition de Guerre que se trouveront dans le Magazin, ensemble L'Artillerie qui seront remise, de bonne foi ainsi que les autres Effets de sa Majesté existant dans le Magazine Loive <sup>1</sup> de la Capitulation.

8°.

Accorde.

Les Soldats et Milicien ne seront ni depouilles ni separer de leur Officiers.

9°.

Accordé.

La Garnison sera conduite avec une escorte Jusqu'a L'endroit destiné pour son séjour. Monsieur le Général recommandra expressement à L'Escorte d'empêcher que le Sauvage n'approchent et n'insultent tout ce qui compose le Garnison et ne la pillent lorsqu'elle quittera ses armée et S'embarquera elle aura le même Soin le long de la route par tout ou il pourra se rencontrer des Sauvages.

10°.

Il sera fait une Etat exacte de nom et Surnom de Soldats de differens troupes ainsi que des Mili-ciens et des autres employé pour sa Majesté tres Chrétienne, les dits emploieis de quel état qu'il soient conserveront leur équipage et auront le même Sort de la Garnison.

<sup>1</sup> ? lors.

11<sup>e</sup>.

Accordé mais  
il est a propos  
qu'il tachent  
a le faire en  
cachette.

Tous les Sauvage de quelque nation qu'il soient qui se trouveront ici, ne seront point insulté, et feront point Insulter et seront libre de sortir ou bon leur s'emblera.

Ces Articles accepté il sera livrée une porte a Monsieur le Général de sa Majesté Britannique ce qui ne peut être que demain.

POUCHOT . . . Capitaine du Reg<sup>ts</sup> de Bearn Command<sup>t</sup>.

VILAR <sup>1</sup> . . . Cap<sup>t</sup> au Reg<sup>t</sup> La Sarre.

SERVIER <sup>2</sup> . . . Cap<sup>t</sup> dans Roy<sup>t</sup> Roussillon.

SIEUR De la ROCHE Cap<sup>t</sup> de Troupe de la Marine.

VERNEY . . .

BOUNNAFFONS . . . Officier du Corps Roy<sup>t</sup> de L'Artillerie.

COUSNOYER . . . L<sup>t</sup> des Troupes detaché de la Marine.

SOLVIGNAC . . . Officier dans Bearne.

Le Ch<sup>te</sup> De LAR- L<sup>t</sup> de la Marine.

MINAC . . .

JONCAIRE . . . Cap<sup>t</sup> de la Marine.

MORAMBERT . . . L<sup>t</sup> Chabert joncaire dans Guienne.

Le Chirurgien  
qui rest avec  
les Malades en  
Recommende  
a Mons<sup>r</sup> Le  
Général.

Copy of the original Capitulation in Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson's hands.

INDORSED.

Copy of the Capitulation granted to the Garrison of Niagara enclosed in Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson's Letter to Genl. Amherst of the 25th July 1759.

Original as sent to me from S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson.

JEFF: AMHERST.

<sup>1</sup> The Chevalier de Villars was appointed Captain in the Regiment of La Sarre Sept mber 27, 1749. In 1760 he held the position of Captain of Grenadiers.

<sup>2</sup> Serviès was appointed Captain *en second* of the Royal Roussillon Regiment February 13, 1755. See p. 233.

### XIII

#### EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF M. VAUQUELIN, COMMANDANT OF THE FRIGATE *ATALANTE* IN THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE IN 1760.<sup>1</sup>

[From the *Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis*, edited by the Abbé Casgrain: vol. xi. pp. 263-271.]

Ayant été décidé que l'on feroit le siège de Québec au petit printemps, on en a de longue main fait les préparatifs, et on a, entre autres, chargé sur nos bâtimens canons, affûts, poudres et autres ustensiles préposés pour cela.

Le tout étant embarqué et les glaces du lac Saint-Pierre étant en allées, je partis le 20 avril de la rivière de Sorel, avec la frégate la *Pomone*, la flûte la *Pie* et deux bateaux chargés d'effets, pour descendre et suivre l'armée, qui partit le même jour des côtes, et nous rendre où elle pourroit aller.

Le 28 avril, j'arrivai à l'Anse-au-Foulon avec toute la petite flotte, qui étoit augmentée de la flûte la *Marie*, deux bâtimens et deux goélettes particulières chargés aussi d'effets qu'ils avoient pris à Montréal.

<sup>1</sup> Captain Vauquelin distinguished himself at Louisbourg. (See vol. i. pp. 247-248 and notes.) Having returned to America, he served during the siege of Quebec as commandant of the harbour. Later he had command of a frigate at Isle Bourbon and Isle France, where he displayed his usual ability. In 1773, disgusted, it is said, by the unjust treatment he received from the Minister of Marine, he shot himself in the head.

A journal closely resembling, and in many parts identical with, this, is to be found in *Archives de la Marine*, B<sup>4</sup> 98, from which it has been copied for the *Canadian Archives*. It is ascribed to Second Lieutenant Thomas, of the *Atalante*.

J'y arrivai peu de temps après la bataille que M. le chevalier de Lévis venoit de gagner sur les troupes ennemies, qui étoient toutes sorties de Québec pour lui en disputer l'approche. Nous eûmes la satisfaction de voir nos troupes tranquilles sur les hauteurs d'Abraham, l'ennemi étant rentré dans la place, et peu après celle d'apprendre que notre armée avoit remporté une victoire complète, l'ennemi ayant abandonné toute son artillerie.

Toute la flotte mouillée faisant la droite de l'armée partie à l'Anse-au-Foulon qui est à une lieue de la place et partie à l'Anse-Sillery qui est à une demi-lieue au-dessus de cette première, on a débarqué journellement et à fur et à mesure ce dont l'armée avoit besoin, tant en artillerie et munitions pour le siège qu'en vivres pour la subsistance des troupes.

Nos batteries avançoient, et l'on devoit battre sous peu de jours, lorsque le vent de nord-est nous amena, le 9 mai, une frégate angloise de trente canons qui se mouilla sous Québec. Cette arrivée nous surprit un peu, mais ne nous inquiéta point, bien persuadés qu'elle seule ne viendrait point nous combattre, ce qu'elle ne fit effectivement point. Je demandai cependant à M. le chevalier de Lévis soixante Canadiens pour augmenter mon équipage qui n'étoit que de cent dix hommes, pour pouvoir servir comme il faut onze canons de 8 que j'avois par bande et avoir un peu de mousqueterie.

Le 11 mai au matin, nos batteries étant perfectionnées, elles commencèrent à tirer.

Dans cette position, le vent de nord-est continuant, nous flattions de voir arriver de jour à autre quelques-uns de nos bâtiments, mais au contraire, le 15 au soir, on fit, de dessus la Pointe-de-Lévis, signal d'un vaisseau ennemi.

J'ai fait sur-le-champ partir un officier pour en informer M. le chevalier de Lévis et lui demander ses ordres. Le reste de la nuit s'est passé en gros vent de nord-est et est-nord-est ; mon officier n'étoit point encore de retour à minuit.

Le 16, le vent toujours au nord-est, gros frais, le temps

brun et couvert, assez clair cependant pour à quatre heures nous laisser apercevoir dans le bassin entre Québec et la pointe d'Orléans un vaisseau et une frégate arrivés pendant la nuit. J'ai aussitôt fait guinder le grand mât de hune que le gros vent de la veille nous avoit obligé d'amener et fait mettre le signal de désaffourcher.

Un instant après, l'officier que j'avois envoyé la veille à terre est arrivé et m'a dit avoir été retenu au quartier général jusqu'à minuit et que son canot s'étoit trouvé échoué. Il m'a dit aussi que M. le chevalier de Lévis avoit été informé dès cette nuit par Beauport de l'arrivée de ces bâtimens, et que son intention étoit que j'eusse à appareiller aussitôt que je verrois l'ennemi sous voile pour monter au-dessus de la place.

À quatre heures trois quarts, le vaisseau déferla son petit hunic. La frégate a mis sous voile et s'est acheminée vers Québec. En la voyant passer outre et la frégate première arrivée mettre aussi sous voile, j'ai fait le signal de couvrir les câbles pour appareiller, qui est un pavillon mi-partie rouge et mi-partie blanc et deux coups de canon coup sur coup.

La *Pomone* et les autres bâtimens ont aussitôt coupé (leurs câbles) et appareillé. La première des frégates ennemies étoit à l'Anse-des-Mères lorsque j'ai fait couper les miens, n'ayant pas eu le temps d'en faire rentrer aucun à bord, et ai fait route pour monter. Mais la *Pomone*, ayant par malheur abattu du mauvais côté, n'a pu doubler la pointe de l'Anse-au-Foulon et s'est trouvée échouée en dedans.

J'ai continué à faire route avec les autres bâtimens, mais en marchant mieux qu'eux, et, la première des frégates m'approchant, je jugeai ne pouvoir les conserver longtemps sans être atteint; ce qui me fit prendre le parti de les faire donner dans la rivière du Cap-Rouge, à deux lieues de l'endroit d'où nous partions. Je les ai couverts jusque-là et leur ai fait route pour cette susdite rivière, pour, par cette manœuvre, sauver le dépôt et le mettre à portée d'être enlevé par l'armée, bien persuadé que les frégates ennemies s'acharneroient à me chasser,

plutôt que de rester pour les petits bâtiments qui, étant entrés dans la rivière, seroient à l'abri de leurs coups.

J'ai aussitôt fait force de voiles et fait canonner de retraite la plus proche, mais assez inutilement, et je fis mettre toutes voiles dehors. Elle m'a toujours approché, et plus encore la dernière qui doubloit presque notre sillage. Un bateau du Roi et la chaloupe s'étant remplis d'eau, j'ai été obligé d'en faire couper l'amarre; celle du canot ayant manqué auparavant, je me suis trouvé sans un bateau.

Nous avons continué de monter et de canonner de retraite les deux frégates de chasse; mais enfin, voyant l'avantage qu'elles avoient sur nous et prévoyant qu'elles me suivroient et me joindroient sous peu, j'ai cru n'avoir rien de mieux à faire qu'à chercher un endroit commode pour échouer la frégate et pouvoir sauver les équipages du Roi, qui peuvent être très nécessaires à la colonie, où l'espèce manque.

Le pilote m'ayant assuré que nous n'avions d'autres endroits que la Pointe-aux-Trembles, qui étoit à deux lieues de nous, ou Portneuf, qui en étoit à cinq, et qu'avant d'être arrivés à ce dernier les frégates m'auroient certainement joint, je me déterminai à faire choix du premier endroit.

Nous y sommes arrivés à sept heures et demie, ayant les frégates à portée et demie du mousquet derrière nous, et avons échoué à près de vingt toises du moulin de cette pointe. Plusieurs raisons m'ont fait prendre ce dur parti.

La première, que ces frégates, marchant beaucoup mieux que la mienne, auroient pu couper ma retraite en me mettant entre elles, et, par cette manœuvre, m'auroient tiré les moyens de faire côte, après avoir consommé quatre cents coups de canon que j'avois à tirer sans plus.

La seconde, que, l'année dernière, les vaisseaux ennemis ne montèrent point au-dessus de la Pointe-aux-Écureuils faute de connoissance de cette partie, et cela auroit été leur servir de guide que d'aller au-dessus, puisqu'elles auroient été près et à poupe de la frégate.

La troisième, c'est qu'excepté à Portneuf, qui est à trois lieues d'ici, le rivage est bordé de rochers qui s'étendent fort au large, et où il n'eut point peut-être été possible de sauver les équipages qui infailliblement auroient été prisonniers ou péri sans ressources.

La frégate échouée, les deux ennemies se sont mouillées par son travers à demi-portée de canon et ont fait tout autant de feu qu'elles ont pu. La frégate se heureusement trouvée échouée droite, présentant le travers et soutenue par une heure de flot qu'il y avoit encore. Nous avons aussi fait feu, et pour qu'elle se tint plus longtemps droite, j'ai fait couper grand mât.

A neuf heures et demie, nous nous sommes trouvés sans poudre, parce que l'eau ayant gagné la soute en a submergé quatre barils, obligés de voir constamment tirer l'ennemi et le désagrément de n'avoir plus de quoi lui riposter.

Nous nous sommes restreints à avoir le mousquet dans les bras et à nous munir de cartouches, au cas qu'il voulût envoyer ses canots à bord.

On cria à quelques habitants qui passaient de nous envoyer un bateau pour débarquer, mais assez inutilement, et le grand feu que faisoit l'ennemi mettoit une grande difficulté à notre requisition.

N'ayant plus rien à faire, je chargeai le sieur Sabourin du soin de faire préparer un artifice pour brûler la frégate en nous débarquant.

Nous avons longtemps attendu un bateau, qui est enfin venu et dans lequel il s'est embarqué autant de monde qu'il en a pu contenir, et on leur donna un bout de cordage pour faire un va-et-vient; mais, arrivés à terre, ils ont largué le cordage et laissé le bateau pour prendre la fuite, de sorte que, comme il y avoit descendant il s'est trouvé en peu de temps à sec, le restant de l'équipage et nous isolés sur la frégate, qui commençoit à donner un grand gîte [*sic*].

M'ayant été rapporté qu'il y avoit huit pieds d'eau dans

la frégate, j'ai réfléchi sur le projet que j'avois formé de la brûler, et ayant bien combiné comme elle étoit crevée et par conséquent hors d'état d'être renflouée, j'ai pensé qu'il seroit plus avantageux de ne pas le faire, parce qu'après le départ des frégates ennemies on pourroit sauver de bord quelques ingrédients utiles à la colonie, comme canons, le peu de vivres qui nous restoient, voiles et cordages, bien qu'ils fussent en pièces et lambeaux.

Il n'en a pas été de l'ennemi comme de nous ; il a toujours continué son feu, et ne l'a interrompu que le temps qu'il lui a fallu pour éviter de flot en jusan. Il continua de nous tuer et blesser toujours quelqu'un. La frégate a toujours tombé et étoit couchée au point de ne pouvoir presque plus se tenir sur le pont, lorsque, pour la soulager et l'empêcher de venir peut-être le platbord à l'eau, j'ai fait couper le mât de misaine.

La nécessité d'avoir quelque chose pour descendre nos équipages à terre et nos blessés, nous a fait travailler à faire un mauvais radeau, ce à quoi l'on est parvenu ; et, après avoir débarqué douze à quinze hommes, l'on a remis à l'eau le bateau qui étoit demeuré échoué par l'abandon qu'en avoient fait ceux qui étoient descendus les premiers, et l'on a, avec le dit bateau, continué le débarquement.

Le feu de l'ennemi avoit cessé, la frégate étant gîtée à terre et ne lui présentant que le flanc. Mais, lors du débarquement, il a recommencé. Cependant on l'a continué, et il restoit encore un voyage à faire, lorsqu'à une heure et demie, les frégates ont envoyé leurs canots à bord, ce que nous avons très bien observé ; mais la frégate étoit tellement couchée que nous tenir étoit tout ce que nous pouvions faire, par conséquent hors d'état de faire une assez inutile défense, et, joint à ce que nos blessés avoient besoin d'un prompt secours, nous les avons laissés monter et ai été fait prisonnier avec cinq de mes officiers. J'en avois envoyé un à terre de bonne heure pour rendre compte et prévenir M. le chevalier de Lévis de notre défaite.



Ceux prisonniers avec moi sont les sieurs Sabourin et Thomas, lieutenants, Deshaix, enseigne, Chaumillon, écrivain, et le sieur Bossens, aumônier. Il s'est aussi trouvé à bord six hommes de l'équipage, qui, comme nous, n'avoient pu aller à terre.

Nous avons été conduits, moi et le sieur Sabourin à bord du sieur Schomberg, capitaine de la frégate la *Diane*, armée de trente-deux canons, dont vingt-six de 12 sur son pont et six de 6 sur les gaillards. Les autres officiers ont été mis à bord de M. Deane, commandant la frégate *Lowestoff*, armée de vingt-quatre canons de 9 sur son pont et six de 6 sur ses gaillards. J'ai prié ce premier d'envoyer un parlementaire pour débarquer à terre les blessés qui étoient restés à bord faute de temps pour le faire; Monsieur le capitaine s'y est prêté de la meilleure grâce du monde, et j'ai pour cela envoyé un de mes meilleurs officiers dans son canot.

Nous ignorons au juste le nombre des tués et blessés que nous avons eus; mais cela va au moins à quarante-trois hommes. La plupart des blessés le sont dangereusement. Il y a dans le nombre des tués le sieur Dufour, enseigne; dans celui des blessés légèrement, les sieurs Sabourin, Thomas, Deshaix et moi. Ils ont renvoyé leurs canots à bord de l'*Atalante* pour en tirer ce qui pourroit leur être de quelque utilité; mais ils sont revenus tels qu'ils y étoient allés, ayant trouvé tous les cordages hachés et les voiles criblées et en pièces.

M. Schomberg m'a dit avoir tiré cinq cents coups de canon et M. Deane trois cent cinquante.

Le 17 mai, le vent continuant au nord-est, grand frais, et les frégates ne pouvant descendre comme elles l'auroient bien désiré, M. le capitaine Schomberg a envoyé son canot mettre le feu à bord de l'*Atalante*.

XIV

LETTER OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES  
MURRAY TO COLONEL SIMON FRASER.

[From the *Canadian Archives*, M. 898-D. (Copied from the original  
draft among the Murray Papers at Bath.)]

Champlain road 25th July 1760.

Dr Sir

I was yesterday honor'd with your favor of the 27, I thank you heartily for the Bermudas Sloop, She will be of infinite Service, for as the Diana can go no farther than the Trois Rivieres, we shall want the Bermudian to proceed w<sup>th</sup> us to Montreal, let there therefore be no delay in dispatching her to us. Capt. Stobo tells me he came fm Louisbourg in a schooner called Amherst, an excellent Vessell for this river already armed & in the Government's Service, L<sup>d</sup> Colvill it seems has scrupules, in keeping her for this service as they cannot be material, I hope you will use your endeavours to remove them I have wrote to him on the subject—the Success of our Affairs in Canada depend entirely upon our being Masters of the river St Lawrence, & keeping up a Communication with the garison of Quebec, this can only be done by Vessells accomodated for the river & such vessells cannot be so essentially necessary any where in America at this time as they are here, I therefore flatter myself there will be no hesitation on my L<sup>ds</sup> side, as I am confident you will do all in your power to urge and persuade him to a Compliance. Upon examination I find the quantity of provisions I expected has not been embarked, I therefore need not enlarge upon the necessity of supplying us with more, by the most speedy

& certain methods you can. From the intelligence I have of the Enemy's powers, & views, & that of Mr. Amherst's motions above, I cannot doubt of being in the Field till the latter end of October, provision must be made accordingly. The Louisbourg fleet of consequence must be victualled for 3 months, & a further Supply for the detachment here of 2 months provisions for 2000 or 1500 men at least, must be forthwith sent to us.—I am glad you have a prospect of getting rid of the French prisoners, you cannot divest yourself of them too soon, let me entreat you to send off De Breaux, & Feguery [?] amongst the first of them, and it is much to be wished that every french Officer in our possession was sent away or kept close on board the Fleet, till an opportunity Offers<sup>1</sup>—I am Sorry to find the Garison does not recover, for you are weaker than when I left you I had Sanguine hopes that the warm weather & your Attention to the wants of the sick, would have soon enabled you to Satisfy your Ambition, I beg you will not be distressed about Jacques Quartier, I meant you friendship by the proposal, I was answerable for any bad Consequences, & you must have reap'd the honor of a happy Success; The enemy's Situation in your district cannot be formidable fifty men is all they have left at Jacques Quartier, & from the nature of things it is most evident to any man Acquainted with war, that they must abandon the lower Country in proportion as we mount, without a possibility of reinforcing it, till both Mr. Amherst's Army & mine are defeated which I think can hardly happen, but enough of this, You are to do as you please, in the mean time give it out that you are to Assault Jacque Quartier & let your Spies observe the Enemys motions there, remember I tell you, it will not, because it cannot make any Alteration there, the 50 men will continue where they are till we Appear before it, & then they will retire thro' the woods, after having set fire to the houses &c. In short My Dr. Fraser all I

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 474.

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desire & Expect of you as your General is to Execute your original instructions & to Establish a post at the point au tremble if that can be done with ease to your garison, if not to burn ye Country after the harvest is gather'd in, from the river Jacque Quartier to the very banks of the Cap rouge, that the Inhabitants of that Quarter may be drove back upon the Upper Canada for Sub<sup>ce</sup> I am positive that this Shou'd be executed before the first day of Octr. if the whole Country before that time has not submitted to His Maj<sup>ties</sup> Arms. Enclosed is a list of pilots for the Upper river, it will be very proper to lay hold of them if possible, that they may be employed for the King—I enclose you an order in form to prevent any Sutlers coming up to us, unless under Safe convoy, it is in form that you may show it to Lord Colvill—The reason I chose to agree with the Masters of the vessells by the Chord rather than to hire their Ships proceeded from a Notion I had that such an agreement wou'd Stimulate their industry, As you have bargained w<sup>th</sup> them it is Equal to them whether they work or not, besides you will be very liable to be imposed upon in the measurement of the vessells, in the other way you was Sure of having pennyworths for your money, no imposition and much industry on the part of the owners of the Craft, but now you are almost certain of imposition, Yancky laziness & I fear of consequence a Scarcity of wood in ye Winter, I imagine you did not Consult ye Wise man about this he is an Old *faunt Body* & certainly will agree to what I have observed on this head. I understand you live like what you are a Great prince, that you may ever be respected as Such, is the sincere Wish of D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your very faithfull hble servt.

J. M.

Gen. Murray to Col. Fraser.

1760.

XV

LETTER OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES  
MURRAY TO THE HON. WILLIAM PITT.

[From the *Canadian Archives*, M. 221. (Transcript from Public Record Office, London: C.O. 5: 64; formerly A. & W. I. 99.)]

Quebec, October 7<sup>th</sup> 1760.

Sir,

I have been honored with your letter of the twenty third July by the way of New York, and communicated to the Troops the King's gracious acceptance of their Services.

The particular approbation, his Majesty has been pleased to express, of my poor endeavors to fulfill my Duty to him, and my country, is the highest honour I can aspire at.

I beg, Sir, you will be pleased to assure him, that of all his Subjects, there is not one who is more ambitious of proving himself a faithful Servant than I am; did my Capacity bear the smallest proportion to my Zeal, the sincerity of this protestation must have been very conspicuous.

I have had no opportunity of corresponding with you since I had the honor to write from Contrecoeur, General Amherst having sent away the Express from Montreal before I was apprized, but I flatter myself he has informed you how fortunate the Garrison of Quebec were in reducing the French Army, by obliging the Canadians to abandon it to a man, and how effectually we clear'd the Route for the junction of the three Corps, by taking post at Longueuil and driving Mons<sup>r</sup> de Levis to the Island of Montreal, before the other two Corps were heard of. He will have acquainted you likewise, no doubt, that Mons<sup>r</sup> Vaudreuil insinuated terms of surrender to me, which I rejected, and sent information

thereof to the Commander in Chief, who was, at that time, three days march from Montreal; on the reduction of which place, & that of all Canada, I most sincerely congratulate you.

As the Troops under my command are greatly recover'd and will be very comfortably quarter'd this Winter, in comparison of the last, I can almost venture to assure you, that we shall entirely get the better of the Scurvy, the only distemper amongst us, and as Mr. Amherst has empower'd me to draw upon the Paymaster General for thirty thousand pounds, I hope I shall be able to satisfy the Soldiers, who have now twelve months pay due, untill more Cash arrives. The General thought this a better and more expeditious method than that I had the honor to propose to you in my letter from Contrecoeur.

I am much ashamed, Sir! that I am obliged to trouble you with my private concerns, but paper cannot blush, and as I am a Soldier of fortune without a friend, nay hardly an acquaintance at Court, I do not know to whom I can so properly apply for protection as yourself, and as I shall be prouder of the smallest countenance from you, than the highest advantages which the united Interests of England could procure to me without it, I take the liberty to enclose Copy of a letter I have wrote to the Secretary at War, in form, which probably will share the fate of many he receives, unless you will be pleased to interfere in my behalf.

With the highest Esteem and Veneration

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your much obliged & most faithfull humble Servant

JA: MURRAY.

Indorsed. Quebec Oct' 7<sup>th</sup> 1760.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Murray.

R. Nov<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> by Cap<sup>t</sup> Perry of the Kingston.

XVI

THE CAPITULATION OF FORT LÉVIS.

[Enclosed in Amherst to Pitt, August 26, 1760 (*Canadian Archives*,  
M. 216; C.O. 5:59; formerly A. & W. I. 94).]

1° La Garnison du Fort Lévis restera Prisonniers de Guerre.

2° Il ne sera fait le moindre degat en ce que Ce Fort peut contenir, soit au dit Fort, aux Canons, aux Munitions de Guerre, ou de Bouche, aux Armements et Instruments de Guerre, et generalement tout ce que ce trouve sous mon commandement.

3° Tous les Deserteurs des Troupes de Sa Majesté Britannique, et les Sauvages ne sont point compris dans la dite Capitulation; fait au Fort Lévis ce 25. Aoust 1760.

Pouchot—Commandant du Fort Lévis.

Celeron.

La potrie.

L ch<sup>r</sup> De la Bon.

ch<sup>r</sup> De poilly.

Bleury.

Indorsed. Copy of the Capitulation Signed by the Officer of Fort Lévis—25th August 1760.

XVII

THE CARTEL REGARDING EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

[Copy in the *Canadian Archives*, from the document attached to a letter of the Duc de Choiseul to the Comte de Chastelet, November 28, 1768 (*Ministère des Affaires Étrangères : Correspondance Politique : Angleterre*. Volume 442).]

TRAITÉ  
ET  
CONVENTIONS

*Pour les Malades, Blessés et Prisonniers de guerre des Troupes de Terre de Sa Majesté Très-Chrétienne et de Sa Majesté Britannique.*<sup>1</sup>

Nous,

Louis-Jacques Charles Marquis du Barail, Maréchal des camps & armées du Roi, Commandant dans la province de Flandre :

Henry-Seymour Conway, Major général des troupes de Sa Majesté, Colonel d'un régiment de Cavalerie, & l'un des Gentilshommes de la Chambre de Sa Majesté :

Au nom de Sa Majesté Très-Chrétienne notre Maître, en vertu du plein-pouvoir à Nous donne ;

Au nom de Sa Majesté le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, en vertu du plein-pouvoir qui nous a été donné ,

**Savoir Faisons**, que nous Sommes convenus des Articles ci-après énoncés, pour avoir leur pleine valeur & entière exécution entre les Troupes de Leurs Majestés Très Chrétienne & Britannique, dans quelque partie du Monde que les armées belligérantes ou auxiliaires des deux nations se trouvent ; & en avons passé le Traité, en vertu des pleins-pouvoirs respectivement communiqués, comme il s'ensuit.

<sup>1</sup> For notes, see the English translation which follows.



## ARTICLE PREMIER

Tous les Prisonniers de guerre, de quelque qualité espèce & condition qu'ils puissent être, sans aucune réserve, qui ont été faits depuis la présente guerre entre les Troupes de terre des deux Puissances, & dans quelque pays que ce soit ; seront échangés ou rançonnés dans l'espace d'un mois, à commencer du jour de la signature du présent Cartel, ainsi qu'il sera plus amplement expliqué dans l'article XXIV ; & M<sup>rs</sup> les Généraux respectifs commandant les armées belligérantes & auxiliaires, dans quelque partie du Monde que ce soit, conviendront entre eux de l'endroit où se fera réciproquement le premier échange ou rançon des Prisonniers qu'on se rendra de part & d'autre.

## II

Tous les Prisonniers de guerre des dites Troupes, sans aucune réserve, qui seront faits de part & d'autre, après le premier échange ou rançon, seront rendus de bonne foi quinze jours après leur détention, ou aussitôt que faire se pourra, par échange de prisonnier de pareilles charges ou équivalences, ou autres, en faisant compensation du plus au moins, ou payeront leurs rançons sur le pied qu'elles seront ci-après marqués, savoir en florins d'Allemagne à compter à soixante creutzers de part & d'autre, faisant deux livres dix sols argent de France, ou deux schelings deux sols & un liard argent d'Angleterre.

## III

Il sera tenu un livre des Prisonniers faits dans les armées belligérantes & auxiliaires, dans lequel il sera marqué le nombre qui sera renvoyé de part & d'autre dans chaque mois, afin qu'au premier du suivant il soit envoyé de chaque côté un état de ce qui aura été reçu & rendu, pour que huit jours après il soit payé exactement & sans difficulté le nombre excédant qu'un parti devra à l'autre ; l'on comptera aussi des avances qui

auront été faites aux-dits Prisonniers, pour qu'elles soient remboursées en même temps, & que tous les comptes soient arrêtés, sans qu'ils puissent être portés au mois suivant; & au premier échange ou rançon des dits Prisonniers, de part & d'autre, on se liquidera de toutes les avances qui leur auront été faites, sur des états valables qui seront produits.

## IV

Toutes les fois qu'il sera renvoyé des Prisonniers d'une part ou d'autre, on y joindra un état qui sera remis au Commandant au lieu où ils auront été conduits, lequel donnera un reçu de la quantité & qualité qu'il recevra, pour être compté chaque mois, ainsi qu'il est ci-dessus.

## V

Et afin qu'il n'arrive aucune contestation ni difficulté, tant par rapport aux postes & qualités des Officiers de part & d'autre, que des rançons qui devront être payées pour chacun d'eux; il a été estimé à propos d'y spécifier ci-après les postes & charges qui sont dans les armées belligérantes & auxiliaires & marquer le prix d'icelles.

## VI

Charges & Officiers servant dans  
les Armées & garnisons de Sa  
Majesté Très-Chrétienne

Florins d'Alle-  
magne

Général d'Armées ou	
Maréchal de France	25000
Lieutenant général com-	
mandant l'armée en	
chef	20000
Lieutenants généraux	5000
Grand Maître d'Artil-	
lerie	6000

Charges & Officiers servant dans  
les Armées & garnisons de Sa  
Majesté Britannique.

Florins  
d'Allemagne

Capitaine général ou Feldt	
Maréchal	25000
Commandant général en	
chef	20000
Général de Cavalerie	
d'Infanterie	10000

# THE CARTEL OF EXCHANGE

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Maréchaux de camp . . . . .	1500	Lieutenant général . . . . .	5000
Colonel général de la Ca- valerie . . . . .	2000	Maître de l'Artillerie . . . . .	6000
Colonel général des Dragons . . . . .	1500	Général-major . . . . .	1500
Maître-de-camp général de la Cavalerie . . . . .	1500	Commissaire général . . . . .	3000
Maître-de-camp général des Dragons . . . . .	1000	Vice-commissaire général . . . . .	250
Commandant de la Cava- lerie . . . . .	1500	Adjudant général . . . . .	500
Commissaire général de la Cavalerie . . . . .	1000	Vice adjudant général . . . . .	100
Un Intendant d'armée ou de province . . . . .	3000	Quartier-maître général . . . . .	500
Leurs Subdélégués ou Or- donnateurs des guerres . . . . .	250	Vice quartier maître général . . . . .	100
Le général des vivres . . . . .	300	Major de brigade . . . . .	150
Major général d'Infanterie . . . . .	500		
Maréchal général des logis . . . . .	500		
Maréchal général des logis de la Cavalerie . . . . .	100		
Majors de brigade, tant de Cavalerie, Dragons, qu'Infanterie . . . . .	150		
Aides-de-camp . . . . .	150	Aides-de-camp . . . . .	150
Trésorier général de l'Ex- traordinaire des guerres . . . . .	250	Vice-maître général de la paye . . . . .	250
Le principal Commis de l'Extraordinaire des guerres dans chaque armée . . . . .	150	Son représentant ou Commis principal . . . . .	150
Les autres Commis de l'Ex- traordinaire des guerres . . . . .	50	Autres Commis Subal- ternes . . . . .	50
Brigadiers de Cavalerie ou de Dragons . . . . .	900	Brigade . . . . .	900
Brigadiers d'Infanterie . . . . .	700		
Commissaires des guerres . . . . .	150		
Inspecteurs d'Infanterie, Cavalerie ou Dragons . . . . .	150		
Principal Commis des vivres . . . . .	150	Maître général des chariots . . . . .	50
Les autres moindres Commis & Contrôleurs des vivres des armées & places . . . . .	50	Capitaines des Guides . . . . .	50

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Le Capitaine Vaguemestre	50	
Le Capitaine des Guides .	50	
Les Guides à cheval de leurs compagnies, seront traités comme dans la Cavalerie.		Assistant du Quartier-maitre général; du Commissaire général, du Maitre général des chariots, & du Capitaine des Guides . . . . . 25

### VII

<i>Gendarmerie</i>		<i>Gardes à cheval et Grenadiers</i>	
Le Brigadier de la Gendarmerie . . . . .	550	Capitaine d'un compagnie de la Garde à cheval . .	1000
Le Capitaine des Gardes du Corps de Sa Majesté . .	1000	Capitaine & Colonel d'une compagnie de Grenadiers de la Garde . . . . .	1000
Le Capitaine lieutenant des Gendarmes de la Garde . . . . .	1000	Premier Lieutenant de la Garde à Cheval . . . .	600
Le Capitaine lieutenant des Chevaux-légers de la Garde . . . . .	1000	Lieutenant-colonel des grenadiers de la garde .	600
Les Capitaines lieutenans des deux compagnies de Mousquetaires . . . .	1000	Second lieutenant de la Garde à cheval . . . .	500
Le Lieutenant de la Garde-du-corps du Roi . . . .	1000	Major des Grenadiers de la Garde . . . . .	500
Le Sous-Lieutenant des Chevaux légers de la Garde . . . . .	1000	Cornette de la Garde à cheval . . . . .	500
Les Sous-lieutenans des deux compagnies de Mousquetaires . .	1000	Adjudant de la Garde à cheval . . . . .	150
Les Enseignes des Gardes-du-corps du Roi . . . . .	500		
L'Enseigne & Guidon des Gendarmes de la Garde .	500		
Les Enseignes & Cornettes des Mousquetaires . .	500		
Les Cornettes des Chevaux-légers de la Garde . . . .	500		
Le Major des Gardes-du-corps du Roi . . . . .	300		
Les deux Aides-Majors des Gardes-du-corps du Roi	150		

Le Capitaine des Gardes de Mgr le Duc d'Orléans .	1000		
Le Lieutenant des Gardes de Mgr le Duc d'Orléans	300		
Les Capitaines - lieutenans de la Gendarmerie .	750		
Les Sous-lieutenans des compagnies de Gen- darmes . . . . .	375	Guidon de la Garde à cheval	300
Les Enseignes & Guidons des Compagnies des Gen- darmes . . . . .	250		
Les Capitaines-lieutenans des Chevaux-légers de la Gendarmerie . . . . .	500	Exempts de la Garde à cheval . . . . .	250
Les Sous-lieutenans des Chevaux-légers . . . . .	250	Lieutenant & Capitaine, ou Guidon des Grenadiers de la Garde . . . . .	250
Les Cornettes des Chevaux- légers . . . . .	150	Brigadiers de la Garde à cheval, ou Sous-lieute- nant des Grenadiers de la Garde . . . . .	150
Le Major de la Gendar- merie . . . . .	250		
L'Aide-major de la Gen- darmarie . . . . .	125		
Les Sous-Aides Majors de la Gendarmerie . . . . .	62½	Adjudant des Grenadiers de la Garde . . . . .	125
Les Exempts des com- pagnies des Gardes-du- corps, & Maréchaux- des-logis de toutes les compagnies ci dessus, les Brigadiers, Sous-Briga- diers, Gardes-du-corps, Mousquetaires, Gen- darmes, & autre des dites compagnies ci-dessus payeront un mois de leurs appointemens.		Les Sous Brigadiers Quar- tier - Maître, Sergens, Caporaux, Trompettes, Timbriers, Tambours, Hautbois & simple Soldat, tant de la Garde à cheval, que des Grena- diers de la Garde paye- ront un mois de leur paye	
Et à l'égard de la compagnie des Grenadiers à cheval de la Maison du Roi, les Officiers & Grena- diers de la dite compa- gnie, payeront un mois de leurs gages.			

## VIII

*Gardes Françaises et Suisses*

Le colonel des Gardes françaises . . .	1500
Le Lieutenant-Colonel . . .	750
Le Major . . .	300
Les Capitaines . . .	150
Les Lieutenans, Aides-Majors, Sous-lieutenans, Enseignes & autres jusqu'aux Soldats compris, payeront un mois de leur solde.	
Les Prevôts & Lieutenans des Prevôts, Maréchaux-des logis & Archers de la Prevôté des Gardes, payeront un mois de leur solde.	
Le Colonel général des Suisses . . .	600
Le Colonel des Gardes-Suisses . . .	300
Les Capitaines-lieutenans, & autres officiers & Soldats des Gardes-Suisses, payeront de même que les Gardes-françaises.	

*Garde à pied*

Colonel de la Garde à pied . . .	1500
Lieutenant-colonel . . .	750
Major . . .	300
Capitaine . . .	150
Les Lieutenans, Quartier-Maitre, Adjudant, Enseignes & autres jusqu'au simple Soldat inclusivement donneront un mois de leur paye.	

## IX

*Infanterie*

	Florins d'Allemagne
Colonel d'Infanterie . . .	600
Lieutenant-colonel . . .	300
Majors . . .	120
Capitaines . . .	70
Aides-Majors ou Adjudans . . .	30
Lieutenans . . .	24
Enseignes ou Sous-lieutenans . . .	20

*Infanterie*

	Florins d'Allemagne
Colonel . . .	600
Lieutenant-colonel . . .	300
Major . . .	120
Capitaine . . .	70
Adjudant . . .	30
Quartier-maitre . . .	30
Lieutenans . . .	24

Sergens . . . . .	10	Second lieutenant ou Enseignes . . . . .	20
Caporaux . . . . .		Sergent . . . . .	10
Anspessades, Tambours, Fifres, Hautbois & Soldats . . . . .	4	Caporal, Tambour Fifre & simple Soldat . . . . .	4
Les Prevôts des Régimens & les Maréchaux-des-logis payeront chacun . . . . .	15		
Les Lieutenans des Prevôts . . . . .	5		
Leurs Archers & Greffiers chacun . . . . .	2½		
L'Infanterie étrangère ou les régimens des provinces ou milices, seront traités comme l'Infanterie françoise, tant pour l'officier que pour le Soldat.			

## X

*Cavalerie, Carabiniers & Hussards**Cavalerie.*

	Florins d'Allemagne		Florins d'Allemagne
Mestre-de-camp ou Colonel de Cavalerie . . . . .	700	Colonei . . . . .	700
Lieutenant-colonel . . . . .	300	Lieutenant-colonel . . . . .	300
Major . . . . .	150	Major . . . . .	150
Capitaine . . . . .	100	Capitaine . . . . .	100
Lieutenant . . . . .	40	Lieutenant . . . . .	40
Cornettes ou Lieutenans réformés . . . . .	30	Adjudant . . . . .	40
Aides-Major . . . . .	40	Cornette . . . . .	30
Maréchal-des-logis d'une compagnie . . . . .	14	Quartier-maître . . . . .	14
Trompettes ou Timbaliers . . . . .	10	Timbaliers ou Trompettes . . . . .	10
Brigadiers, Cavaliers, Seli-ers & Maréchaux . . . . .	7	Caporal, Maréchal Cavaliers . . . . .	7
Toutes les troupes fran-çoises, tant Officiers que Soldats du ban & arrière ban, & de Milices, seront traités comme la Cavalerie si elles sont à cheval, ou comme l'Infanterie, si elles sont à pied.			

## XI

*Dragons*

Le Colonel, Lieutenant-colonel Major & Capitaine payeront leur rançon sur le pied de la Cavalerie ; les Officiers au-dessous de Capitaine jusqu'aux simples Dragons, payeront comme l'Infanterie

*Dragons*

Le Colonel, Lieutenant-colonel Major & Capitaines payeront leur rançon comme Officier de Cavalerie ; tous ceux qui sont au dessous du rang de Capitaine jusqu'au simple Dragon inclusivement payeront comme l'Infanterie

## XII

*Artillerie*

Lieutenant-général d'Artillerie de France . . . 700  
 Les Capitaines & autres Officiers des compagnies d'ouvriers, ainsi que les Charrons, Boureliers, Artificiers, Maréchaux & autres Ouvriers des dites compagnies, de même que les conducteurs des charrois d'Artillerie, payeront un mois de leur solde.

*Artillerie*

Lieutenant-général de l'Artillerie . . . 700  
 Les Commissaires & autres Officiers comme aussi les Charpentiers, Charrons, Boureliers, Artificiers, Forgerons & Maréchaux payeront un mois de leur paye.

## XIII

*Régiment Royal Artillerie*

Le Colonel commandant un bataillon dudit régiment, le Lieutenant-colonel, le Major & les autres Officiers seront traités comme l'Infanterie françoise, ainsi que les Canonniers, Bombar-

*Regiment Royal Artillerie*

Les Feld-officiers & autres Officiers du régiment Royal-artillerie, seront traités & payeront, suivant leur rang, comme Officiers d'Infanterie & les Bombardiers, Canonniers, & simples Soldats



diers & Fusiliers desdits bataillons. Les Officiers détachés des bataillons dudit régiment sans troupe pour faire le service des places, ou qui y seront attachés par leur retraite, payeront un mois de leur solde.

d'Artillerie, comme les Soldats du régiment d'Infanterie.

## XIV

*Compagnies de Mineurs*

Les Officiers & Soldats desdites compagnies payeront un mois de leur solde.

*Mineurs.*

Tant les Officiers que les Soldats payeront un mois de leur paye.

## XV

*Ingénieurs*

	Florins d'Allemagne
Ingénieur-général de France	150
Les Ingénieurs en chef des armées, villes & provinces	75
Tous autres Ingénieurs servant dans les armées ou garnisons	50
Les Entrepreneurs des fortifications	25
Les Piqueurs, ou autres Employés dans les fortifications	15

*Ingénieurs.*

	Florins d'Allemagne
Ingénieur en chef	150
Ingénieur principal dans les armées ou dans les places	75
Tous les autres Ingénieurs	50
Inspecteurs des fortifications	25
Leurs Assistans	15

## XVI

*Compagnies franches de Dragon et d'Infanterie*

Les Officiers en pied & réformés desdites compagnies, les Dragons & Soldats qui les composent, seront échangés d'homme

*Milices, Compagnies-franches, tant de Cavalerie que d'Infanterie.*

Tous les régimens de Milices, ou troupes des provinces, comme aussi toutes les compagnies-franches de Cavalerie,

et de cheval pour homme de son espèce ; il en sera usé de même pour l'Infanterie, & pour leur rançon au défaut d'échange, ils payeront, tant Officiers en pied que réformés, Dragons & Soldats, un mois de leurs appointemens ou solde.

Dragons Infanterie, seront traités & payeront leur rançon, aussi bien les Officiers que les simples Soldats, suivant leur rang, de la même manière que les troupes réglées, de même espèce & dénomination respectivement.

## XVII

**Les** Gouverneurs, Commandants, Lieutenans de Roi, Majors, Aides-Majors, Capitaines des postes de places, payeront de part & d'autre pour leur rançon un mois de leurs appointemens, & s'il arrive qu'ils aient d'autres charges dont ils tirent actuellement des appointemens plus hauts, payeront sur le pied de ladite charge ; & d'autant qu'aucuns Lieutenans de Roi, Commandans ou Majors de places ne tirent aucuns appointemens en cette qualité, leurs rançons seront réglées sur le pied de la plus haute charge qu'ils exercent.

## XVIII

**Tous** ceux qui exercent différentes charges, payeront leur rançon sur le pied de la plus haute charge qu'ils possèdent & à proportion d'icelle seront échangés, ou payeront leur rançon sur le pied qu'il est dit ; sans que de part ou d'autre on puisse répéter à un officier fait prisonnier, un échange ou une rançon plus forte que sur le pied du grade dans lequel il étoit employé à l'armée ou dans les places.

## XIX

**Tous** autres Officiers qui pourroient avoir été oubliés dans ce Cartel, seront relâchés dans quinze jours, en payant un mois de leurs appointemens, & s'il y avoit quelques contestations

touchant la qualité ou appointmens de quelques officiers prisonniers, on s'en rapportera de part & d'autre au certificat du Général de l'armée ou Commandant de la province, ou du Gouverneur de la place la plus voisine.

XX

Tous les Officiers réformés ne payeront qu'un mois des appointemens dont ils jouissent.

XXI

Les Volontaires servant dans les armées, qui n'auront aucun grade, seront renvoyés de part & d'autre sur le champ, & auront la liberté de continuer à servir dans les armées où ils sont attachés; mais ceux qui ont des grades, seront échangés comme les troupes desdites armées.

XXII

Le Prévôt général, ses Lieutenans & autres Officiers & Gardes de la Connétablie; l'Auditeur général, son Lieutenant, le Stabs-auditeur & autres; les Directeurs, Secrétaires & Chancellistes des chancelleries de guerre, Secrétaires des Généreaux & Intendans, des Trésoriers, du Commissariat général, & autres Secrétaires; les Aumôniers, Ministres, Maîtres des postes, leurs Commis, Courriers & Postillons, Médecins, Chirurgiens, Apothicaires, Directeurs, & autres Officiers, servant dans les hôpitaux ou armées; les Ecuyers, Maîtres d'hôtel, Valets-de-chambre, & tous autres Domestiques, ne seront point sujets à être faits prisonniers de guerre, & seront renvoyés le plus tôt possible.

XXIII

Les Valets faits prisonniers, seront renvoyés de part & d'autre, sans aucune difficulté; ceux qui désertent sans avoir

pris ni volé dans l'armée qu'ils quitteront, pourront jouir du passeport qu'on voudra bien leur accorder : par rapport aux voleurs, le vol doit toujours être restitué, sans les renvoyer ; mais les Généraux respectifs seront toujours les maîtres de le faire en cas de meurtre ou d'assassinat.

Quant aux vols faits par les Soldats déserteurs, ils seront restitués, sans qu'on puisse exiger le renvoi desdits déserteurs sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, s'en remettant de part & d'autre à la volonté respective des Généraux, pour les déserteurs qui auront commis des meurtres ou autres crimes.

Tous Déserteurs, Domestiques ou autres qui passeront d'un parti à l'autre, seront arrêtés aux premiers postes, où le Commandant aura grande attention de les faire fouiller & de faire mettre par écrit les effets dont ils seront munis, sans permettre qu'ils puissent rien vendre ni donner ; après quoi il les fera conduire à son Général, où lesdits Déserteurs, Domestiques ou autres seront détenus pendant trois jours, afin que s'ils se trouvent être voleurs, on puisse de part & d'autre avoir le temps de les réclamer.

## XXIV

Les échanges & rançons des Prisonniers, tant dans le premier que dans les suivans, se feront homme pour homme & Officier pour Officier à charge égale, jusqu'à ce qu'il ne se trouve plus de Prisonniers dans les armées ou dans les prisons ; & après que tous les échanges auront été faits de tout ce qui se trouvera d'Officiers pour Officiers & de Cavaliers, Dragons & Soldats pour autant d'hommes de semblable espèce, s'il se trouve alors que l'un des deux partis ait de reste plus d'Officiers que de Soldats, ou plus de Soldats que d'Officiers, il lui sera permis de donner des Officiers pour des Cavaliers, Dragons ou Soldats suivant le tarif inséré dans le présent Cartel ; & après que tous les échanges auront été faits en la manière ci-dessus, si l'un des deux partis se trouve avoir des Prisonniers de reste, qui n'auront pu être échangés, l'autre parti pourra les retirer en

payent leur rançon, & pour cet effet il sera donné de part & d'autre état de la quantité & qualité des prisonniers qui auront été faits, tant dans les combats & rencontres, que dans les villes, châteaux & places qui auront été prises.

## XXV

Qu'il sera donné à chaque Prisonnier de guerre la ration de pain telle que lesdites troupes la reçoivent, & trois creutzers & trois cinquièmes faisant trois sols argent de France, ou un sol & vingt trois quarantièmes de sol argent d'Angleterre, par chaque jour : Il sera permis respectivement de leur envoyer des secours ; & dans les lieux de dépôt desdits prisonniers, il sera libre à chaque Général commandant les armées, d'y faire tenir un Officier ou Commissaire des guerres avec un passeport, pour pourvoir aux secours qui seront donnés aux Prisonniers.

Il sera fait un décompte chaque mois du pain qui aura été donné aux Prisonniers de part & d'autre, pour que celui qui sera redevable à l'autre ait à le rembourser sans difficulté ; & le pain qui sera excédant sera payé à raison de deux creutzers & un tiers de creutzer, ou de vingt-trois deniers & un tiers de denier argent de France, ou un sol & un cinquantième de sol argent d'Angleterre, ladite ration.

Il sera pareillement fait un décompte, à la fin de chaque mois, des sommes fournies de part & d'autre pour le prêt convenu à chaque Prisonnier, & la Somme redûe de part ou d'autre sera remboursée, comme il est dit ci-dessus ; promettant réciproquement de mettre les Prisonniers dans des lieux honnêtes, avec de la bonne paille qu'on aura soin de rafraîchir de huit en huit jours.

## XXVI

Qu'on prendra soin des biessés de part & d'autre ; qu'on payera les médicamens & leur nourriture ; que les frais seront

restitués de part & d'autre; qu'il sera permis de leur envoyer des Chirurgiens, & leurs domestiques avec des passeports des Généraux; qu'au surplus, ceux qui auront été faits Prisonniers, aussi bien que ceux qui ne le seroient pas, seront renvoyés sous la protection & sauvegarde des Généraux, avec liberté d'être transportés par eau ou par terre, suivant la plus grande commodité & convenance des lieux où l'on sera, & par le plus court chemin; à condition toutefois, que ceux qui ont été faits Prisonniers ne serviront pas qu'il ne soient échangés ou rançonnés.

## XXVII

Que les Malades de part & d'autre ne seront point faits Prisonniers, qu'ils pourront rester en sûreté dans les hôpitaux, où il sera libre à chacune des Parties belligérantes & auxiliaires de leur laisser une garde, laquelle, ainsi que les malades, seront renvoyés sous des passeports respectifs des Généraux, par le plus court chemin, & sans pouvoir être troublés ni arrêtés.

Il en sera de même des Commissaires des guerres, Aumôniers, Médecins, Chirurgiens, Apothicaires, Garçons infirmiers, Servans ou autres personnes propres au service des Malades, lesquels ne pourront être faits prisonniers, & seront pareillement renvoyés.

## XXVIII

Les Sauvegardes jouiront de part & d'autre d'une entière surêté, & dans le cas où elles se trouveroient trop près des Armées, elles seront renvoyées sans qu'il leur soit fait aucune violence ni mauvais traitement.

## XXIX

On ne forcera, en aucune manière, les Prisonniers à s'enrôler.

## XXX

Il sera permis aux Prisonniers de donner avis de leur détention, par une lettre ouverte.

## XXXI

Il sera accordé de part & d'autre des passeports aux Maîtres-d'hôtel des Généraux, pour aller chercher des provisions, à la condition qu'ils n'approcheront pas des Places fortes & des armées respectives, plus près de deux lieues.

## XXXII

S'il arrivoit qu'il y eut quelque Officier dont la rançon ne fut pas réglée par le présent Cartel, ou qu'il survint quelque difficulté, on en conviendra de part & d'autre; & ce qui sera résolu, sera observé & tenu pour être inséré dans le présent traité, suivant les certificats qui en seront donnés par les Généraux des armées ou les Gouverneurs & Commandans des places.

## XXXIII

Et pour pleine & entière exécution du présent Cartel, nous l'avons signé, & y avons mis le sceau de nos armes, lequel sera de pleine valeur, pour être inviolablement observé, tout ainsi que s'il étoit signé de Leurs Majestés nos Souverains; & pour plus grande assurance, après en avoir obtenu le pouvoir de Leurs Majestés, déclarons qu'il sera même par Elles ratifié, s'il est jugé nécessaire, à la première réquisition de l'une ou de l'autre de Leurs Majestés. *Fait* à l'Ecluse en Flandre, le sixième février mil sept cent cinquante-neuf.

*Signé*

LOUIS JACQUES-CHARLES Et HENRY-SEYMOUR CONWAY,  
Marquis Du Barail.

VOL. III.

S

## TREATY AND AGREEMENT

CONCERNING THE SICK, WOUNDED, AND PRISONERS OF  
WAR, OF THE LAND FORCES OF HIS MOST CHRISTIAN  
MAJESTY AND OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY.



Louis-Jacques Charles Marquis du  
Barail, Marshal of the King's  
forces, Commandant in the pro-  
vince of Flanders :<sup>1</sup>

Henry Seymour Conway, Major-  
General of His Majesty's troops,  
Colonel of a regiment of cavalry,  
and one of the Gentlemen of His  
Majesty's Household :<sup>2</sup>

In the name of His Most Christian  
Majesty, our Master, by virtue of  
the plenary power granted to us ;

In the name of His Majesty the  
King of Great Britain, by virtue  
of the plenary power which has  
been granted to us ;

**Make Known**, that we have agreed on the Articles hereinafter  
set forth, to have full authority and complete effect between  
the Troops of His Most Christian Majesty and of His Britannic  
Majesty, in whatever part of the World the belligerent armies  
and auxiliaries of the two nations may be ; and, by virtue  
of the plenary powers respectively communicated, have signed  
the Treaty thereon, as follows :

## ARTICLE I

All Prisoners of war, of whatever rank, character and  
condition they may be, without any exception, who have been  
taken during the present war between the Land Forces of the  
two Powers, and in whatsoever country they may be ; shall be

Probably the son of Louis Prévost, Marquis du Barail, of the Regiment  
du Roy, who was appointed Lieutenant-General in 1720

<sup>2</sup> Second son of Francis Seymour, first Lord Conway : born 1721 : died  
July 9, 1795.



exchanged or ransomed in the space of one month, beginning on the date of signature of the present Cartel, in such manner as shall be more fully set forth in Article XXIV; and the respective Generals commanding the belligerent armies and auxiliaries, in whatever part of the World they may be, shall agree between them as to the place at which the first exchange or ransom of the Prisoners to be handed over on each side shall take place.

## II

All Prisoners of war of the said Troops, without any exception, who shall be taken on either side, after the first exchange or ransom, shall be surrendered faithfully fifteen days after their capture, or as soon as it can be done, by exchange of prisoners of like rating, or equivalence,—or others, compensation being made to strike the balance,—or by the payment of ransom on the basis to be hereinafter specified, *viz.* in German florins to rate at sixty kreutzers on each side, making two livre ten sols in French money, or two shillings two pence one farthing in English money.

## III

A register shall be kept of the Prisoners taken in the belligerent armies and auxiliaries, in which shall be entered the number liberated on either side every month, to the end that on the first of the following month a statement of those who shall have been received and surrendered shall be sent from each side, so that, eight days afterwards, exact payment may readily be made for the excess number for which one party may be in debt to the other; the advances made to the said Prisoners shall also be charged in order that they may be repaid at the same time, and all accounts be settled, without being carried over to the next month; and at the first exchange or ransom of the said Prisoners, all advances made to them shall be discharged, upon the production of valid accounts.

## IV

Each time that Prisoners shall be liberated on either side, an accompanying statement shall be delivered to the Commanding Officer of the place to which they shall have been conducted, who shall give a receipt stating the number and character of those received, to be accounted for each month, as above stated.

## V

And in order to avoid any disagreement or difficulty, either in regard to the rank and character of the Officers on each side, or the ransom which is to be paid for each of them, it has been thought proper to specify herewith the ranks and commands in the belligerent armies and auxiliaries, and to set down the sums to be paid for them.

## VI

Commands and Officers in the Armies and garrisons of His Most Christian Majesty.	German Florins.	Commands and Officers in the Armies and garrisons of His Britannic Majesty.	German Florins
General of the Army or Marshal of France . . . . .	25000	Captain General or Field Marshal . . . . .	25000
Lieutenant-General Com- manding the army . . . . .	20000	General Commander in Chief . . . . .	20000
Lieutenant-General . . . . .	5000	General of Cavalry or of Infantry . . . . .	10000
Grand Master of the Ord- nance . . . . .	6000	Lieutenant General . . . . .	5000
<i>Maréchal de camp</i> . . . . .	1500	Master of the Ordnance . . . . .	600
Colonel in chief of Cavalry . . . . .	2000	Major General . . . . .	1500
Colonel in chief of Dra- goons . . . . .	1500	Commissary General . . . . .	3000
<i>Mestre-de-camp général</i> of Cavalry . . . . .	1500	Deputy Commissary General . . . . .	250
<i>Mestre-de-camp général</i> of Dragoons . . . . .	1000	Adjutant-General . . . . .	500
Commandant of Cavalry . . . . .	1500		

# THE CARTEL OF EXCHANGE 277

Commissary General of Cavalry . . . . .	1000	Deputy Adjutant-General . . . . .	100
Intendant of an army or a province . . . . .	3000	Quartermaster General . . . . .	500
Their Subdelegates or <i>Ordonnateurs des guerres</i> . . . . .	250	Deputy Quartermaster General . . . . .	100
Commissary of Stores . . . . .	300	Brigade-Major . . . . .	150
Major-General of Infantry . . . . .	500		
Quartermaster General . . . . .	500		
Quartermaster General of Cavalry . . . . .	100		
Brigade-Major of Cavalry, Dragoons, or Infantry . . . . .	150		
<i>Aide-de-camp</i> . . . . .	150	<i>Aide-de-camp</i> . . . . .	150
Paymaster General of War Extraordinaries . . . . .	250	Deputy Paymaster General . . . . .	250
Chief Clerk of War Extraordinaries in each army . . . . .	150	His representative or Chief Clerk . . . . .	150
Other Clerks of War Extraordinaries . . . . .	50	Other Clerks, Subalterns or assistants . . . . .	50
Brigadier of Cavalry or of Dragoons . . . . .	900	Brigadier . . . . .	900
Brigadier of Infantry . . . . .	700		
<i>Commissaire des guerres</i> . . . . .	150		
Inspector of Infantry, Cavalry, or Dragoon . . . . .	150		
Chief Clerk of Stores . . . . .	150	Baggagemaster General . . . . .	50
Other inferior Clerks and Superintendents of Stores in the armies and fortresses . . . . .	50	Captain of the Guides . . . . .	50
Baggage-master . . . . .	50	Assistant to the Quartermaster General, to the Commissary General, to the Baggage-master General, and to the Captain of the Guides . . . . .	25
Captain of the Guides . . . . .	50		
The mounted Guides to the companies shall be treated as in the Cavalry.			

## VII

*Gendarmerie.*

Brigadier of the <i>Gendarmerie</i> . . . . .	550
Captain of the Body Guards of His Majesty . . . . .	1000

*Horse Guards and Grenadiers.*

Captain of a company of the Horse Guards . . . . .	1000
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Captain-lieutenant of the <i>Gendarmes</i> of the Guard	1000	Captain and Colonel of a company of Grenadiers of the Guard	1000
Captain-lieutenant of the Light Horse of the Guard	1000		
Captain-lieutenants of the two companies of Musketeers	1000	First Lieutenant of the Horse Guards	600
Lieutenant of the King's Body Guard	1000	Lieutenant-Colonel of the Grenadiers of the Guard	600
Sub-lieutenant of the Light Horse of the Guard	1000		
Sub-lieutenant of the two companies of Musketeers	1000	Second Lieutenant of the Horse Guards	500
Ensign of the King's Body Guards	500	Major of the Grenadiers of the Guard	500
Ensign and Guidon of the <i>Gendarmes</i> of the Guard	500		
Ensigns and Cornets of the Musketeers	500	Cornet of the Horse Guards	500
Cornet of the Light Horse of the Guard	500	Adjutant of the Horse Guards	150
Major of the King's Body Guards	300		
The two <i>Aides-Majors</i> of the King's Body Guards	150		
The Captain of the Guards of the Duke of Orleans	1000		
The Lieutenant of the Guards of the Duke of Orleans	300		
Captain-lieutenants of the <i>Gendarmerie</i>	750		
Sub-lieutenants of the Companies of <i>Gendarmes</i>	375	Guidon of the Horse Guards	300
Ensigns and Guidons of the Companies of <i>Gendarmes</i>	250		
Captain-lieutenants of the Light Horse of the <i>Gendarmerie</i>	500	Exempts of the Horse Guards	250
Sub-lieutenants of the Light Horse	250	Lieutenant and Captain, or Guidon of the Grenadiers of the Guard	250
Cornettes of the Light Horse	150	Brigadiers of the Horse	

## THE CARTEL OF EXCHANGE

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Major of the <i>Gendarmerie</i> . . . . .	250	Guards, or Sub-lieutenant of the Grenadiers of the Guard . . . . .	150
<i>Aide-major</i> of the <i>Gendarmerie</i> . . . . .	125	Adjutant of the Grenadiers of the Guard . . . . .	125
Deputy <i>Aides-majors</i> of the <i>Gendarmerie</i> . . . . .	62½	The Sub-Brigadiers, Quartermaster, Sergeants, Corporals, Buglers, Kettle-drummers, Drummers, Hautboys and private soldiers, both of the Horse Guards and of the Grenadiers of the Guard shall pay one month's salary.	
The Exempts of the companies of Body Guards, and Quartermasters of all the above companies, the Brigadiers, Sub-Brigadiers, Body Guards, Musketeers, <i>Gendarmes</i> and others of the above mentioned companies shall pay one month's salary.			
And in regard to the company of Mounted Grenadiers of the King's Household, the Officers and Grenadiers of the said company shall pay one month's salary.			

## VIII

### *French and Swiss Guards.*

The Colonel of the French Guards . . . . .	1500
The Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	750
The Major . . . . .	300
The Captains . . . . .	150
The Lieutenants, <i>Aides-Majors</i> , Sub-lieutenants, Ensigns, and others, Soldiers included, shall pay one month's salary.	

The Provost-Marshal and their Lieutenants, Quartermasters and Archers of the Provost of the Guards, shall pay one month's salary.

### *Foot Guards.*

Colonel of the Foot Guards . . . . .	1500
Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	750
Major . . . . .	300
Captain . . . . .	150
The Lieutenants, Quartermaster, Adjutant, Ensigns, and others including the common soldiers shall give one month's pay.	

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## IX

<i>Infantry.</i>	German Florins.	<i>Infantry.</i>	German Florins.
Colonel of Infantry . . . . .	600	Colonel . . . . .	600
Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	300	Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	300
Major . . . . .	120	Major . . . . .	120
Captain . . . . .	70	Captain . . . . .	70
Aide-Major or Adjutant . . . . .	30	Adjutant . . . . .	30
Lieutenant . . . . .	24	Quartermaster . . . . .	30
Ensign or Sub-Lieutenant . . . . .	20	Lieutenant . . . . .	24
Sergeant . . . . .	10	Second Lieutenant or Ensign . . . . .	20
Corporals, <i>Anspessades</i> , Drummers, Fifers, Haut- boys and Soldiers . . . . .	4	Sergeant . . . . .	10
The Provost-M Marshals of the Regiments and the Quartermasters shall pay each . . . . .	15	Corporal, Drummer, Fifer and Common Soldier . . . . .	4
The Lieutenants of the Provosts . . . . .	5		
Their Archers and Clerks each . . . . .	2½		
The foreign Infantry and the provincial regiments and militia shall be treated as the French Infantry, as regards both officers and soldiers.			

## X

<i>Cavalry, Carbineers and Hussars.</i>	German Florins.	<i>Cavalry.</i>	German Florins.
<i>Mestre-de-camp</i> or Colonel of Cavalry . . . . .	700	Colonel . . . . .	700
Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	300	Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	300
Major . . . . .	150	Major . . . . .	150
Captain . . . . .	100	Captain . . . . .	100
Lieutenant . . . . .	40	Lieutenant . . . . .	40
Cornets or Lieutenants on half-pay . . . . .	30	Adjutant . . . . .	40
Aide-Major . . . . .	40	Cornet . . . . .	30

## THE CARTEL OF EXCHANGE

281

Quartermaster of a company . . . . .

14

Quartermaster . . . . .

14

Buglers or Drummers . . . . .

10

Drummers or Buglers . . . . .

10

Corporals, Troopers, Saddlers, and Smiths . . . . .

7

Corporal, Smith, Troopers . . . . .

7

All the French troops, both Officers and Soldiers, of the levies of *ban* and *arrière ban*,<sup>1</sup> and of the Militia, shall be treated as the Cavalry if they are mounted, and as the Infantry, if they are on foot.

### XI

#### *Dragoons.*

Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major and Captain shall pay their ransoms at the rating of the Cavalry; the Officers below the rank of Captain, and the ordinary Dragoons shall pay as the Infantry.

#### *Dragoons.*

Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major and Captain shall pay their ransoms as Cavalry Officers; all those who are below the rank of Captain including the ordinary Dragoon shall pay as the Infantry.

### XII

#### *Artillery.*

Lieutenant-General of the Artillery of France . . . . .

700

The Captains and other Officers of the companies of workmen, as well as the Wheelwrights, Harness-makers, Matrosses, Smiths and other Workmen of the said Companies, as also the drivers of the gun-carriages, shall pay one month's salary.

#### *Artillery.*

Lieutenant-General of Artillery . . . . .

700

The Commissaries and other Officers, as also the Carpenters, Wheelwrights, Harness-makers, Matrosses and Smiths shall give one month's pay.

<sup>1</sup> The *ban* and *arrière-ban* were the feudal levies called out for national defence: the *ban* comprised those from fiefs held directly from the king, the *arrière-ban* those from fiefs held immediately from some other lord.

## XIII

*Royal Regiment of Artillery.*

The Colonel commanding a battalion of the said regiment, the Lieutenant-Colonel, the Major and the other Officers shall be treated as the French Infantry, as also the Gunners, Bombardiers and Fusiliers of the said battalions. Officers detached, without soldiers, from the battalions of the said regiment, for the purpose of serving in fortresses, or who shall be attached there by their half-pay service, shall pay a month's salary.

*Royal Regiment of Artillery.*

The Field Officers and other Officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, shall be treated and shall pay, according to their rank, as Officers of Infantry, and the Bombardiers, Gunners, and common soldiers of the Artillery as the soldiers of the infantry regiments.

## XIV

*Companies of Miners.*

The Officers and Soldiers of the said companies shall pay one month's salary.

*Miners.*

Both Officers and Soldiers shall give one month's pay.

## XV

*Engineers.*

	German Florins.
Chief Engineer of France .	150
Chief Engineers of armies, cities and provinces .	75
All other Engineers serving in the armies or gar- risons . . . . .	50
The constructors of forti- fications . . . . .	25
Overseers and other persons employed on the forti- fications . . . . .	15

*Engineers.*

	German Florins.
Chief Engineer . . . . .	150
Chief Engineer in an army or fortress . . . . .	75
All other Engineers . . . . .	50
Inspectors of fortifications .	25
Their Assistants . . . . .	15



## XVI

*Independent companies of Dragoons  
and Infantry.*

The Officers on full and half pay of the said companies, the Dragoons and Soldiers composing them, shall be exchanged man for man of the same rank; the Infantry shall be treated in the same way, and for ransom in default of exchange, they shall pay,—Officers on full or half pay, Dragoons and Soldiers alike,—their emoluments or salary for one month.

*Militia, Independent Companies,  
both Cavalry and Infantry*

All regiments of Militia, or provincial troops, likewise all independent companies of Cavalry, Dragoons and Infantry, shall be treated and shall pay ransom, both Officers and common Soldiers, according to their rank, in the same manner as the regular troops, of like description respectively.

## XVII

The Governors, Commandants, King's Lieutenants, Majors, Aide-Majors, and Captains of military stations, shall pay as ransom, on either side, one month's salary, and if it happen that they have other appointments from which they receive higher incomes, they shall pay on the basis of the said appointment; and if any of the King's Lieutenants, Commandants or Majors of posts draw no incomes in virtue of such commands, their ransoms shall be determined on the basis of the highest appointment which they hold.

## XVIII

All those holding several appointments shall pay their ransom on the basis of the highest appointment held by them, and on that rating shall be exchanged or pay their ransom; provided always that on neither side shall there be demanded of an officer a ransom or exchange of higher rating than that of the rank in which he was employed in the army or fortress.

## XIX

Any other Officers who may have been omitted in this Cartel shall be liberated in fifteen days on paying a month's salary, and in case of dispute respecting the rank or salary of any officer made prisoner, recourse shall be had on each side to the certificate of the General of the army or the Commandant of the province or the Governor of the nearest fortress.

## XX

All Officers on half-pay shall pay only one month of the salary received by them.

## XXI

Volunteers serving without rank in the armies shall be liberated forthwith by both sides, and shall be at liberty to continue their service in the armies to which they are attached; but those holding rank shall be exchanged in the same way as the troops of the said armies.

## XXII

The Provost Marshal, his Lieutenants and other Officers and Guards of the *Connetable*, the Auditor General, his Lieutenant, the Deputy [?] Auditor and others; the Directors, Secretaries, and officials of the war chanceries, Secretaries to the Generals and Intendants, to the Treasurers, to the Commissary General, and other Secretaries; Chaplains, Ministers, Post-Masters, their Clerks, Couriers and Postillions, Doctors, Surgeons, Apothecaries, Directors and other Officers on service in the hospitals or armies; the Squires, Stewards, Valets, and all other Servants, shall not be liable to being held as prisoners of war, and shall be liberated as soon as possible.

## XXIII

The Valets made prisoners shall be liberated on each side without any obstacle; those who shall desert without having taken or stolen anything in the army which they leave, shall be entitled to the benefit of the passport that may be granted to them. With regard to thieves, the thing stolen ought always to be restored, without sending back the men; but the respective Generals shall be at liberty to do so in case of murder or homicide.

As regards thefts by deserting Soldiers, restitution shall be made, but no demand whatsoever shall be made for the delivery of the said deserters, except that the decision in regard to deserters who have committed murder or other crimes shall be left to the respective Generals.

All Deserters, Servants or others who shall leave one side for the other, shall be apprehended at the outposts, where the Commanding Officer shall take especial care to have them searched and a list made of the articles in their possession, without allowing them to sell or give away anything. Afterwards he shall send them to his General, where the said Deserters, Servants or others shall be detained for three days, in order that, if they are found to be thieves, there may be time on either side to enter claims.

## XXIV

The exchange and ransoming of Prisoners, both on the first and on subsequent occasions, shall be made man for man and Officer for Officer of like position, until no more Prisoners remain in the armies or prisons; and after all possible exchanges have been made of Officers for Officers and of Troopers, Dragoons and Soldiers for as many men of like description, if there remain with either party more Officers than Soldiers, or

more Soldiers than Officers, it is permitted to give Officers for Troopers, Dragoons or Soldiers according to the tariff inserted in the present Cartel; and after all exchanges have been completed in the manner above described, if either side have Prisoners remaining unexchanged, the other side may recover them by paying their ransom, and with this object statements shall be given by each side of the number and character of the prisoners taken both in battles and encounters and in captured cities, castles and fortresses.

## XXV

There shall be given to each Prisoner of war every day the ration of bread received by the said troops, with three and three-fifths *kreutzers*, the equivalent of three *sols* in French money, or one and twenty-three fiftieths pence in English money. Permission shall be given on each side to send them assistance; and each General commanding an army shall have liberty to maintain at the place of detention of the said prisoners an Officer or *Commissaire des guerres* holding a passport, to watch over the relief granted to the Prisoners.

An account shall be kept each month of the bread given to the Prisoners, that all indebtedness may be acquitted without difficulty; and the balance of bread shall be paid for at the rate of two and one-third *kreutzers*, or twenty-three and one-third *deniers* in French money, or one and one-fiftieth pence English money, for the said ration.

An account shall likewise be rendered, at the end of each month, of the sums furnished on each side as the loan allowable to each Prisoner, and the Sum due on either side shall be repaid, as is directed above. Mutual guarantees are to be given of putting the Prisoners in decent quarters, with good straw which shall be changed every eight days.

## XXVI

Care shall be taken of the wounded on both sides; payment shall be made for their medicines and victuals; the expenses shall be reimbursed on both sides; Surgeons, and their servants, with passports from the Generals, may be sent them; moreover, both those made Prisoners and others shall be returned under the protection and safe-guard of the Generals, with liberty to be carried by water or by land, by the shortest way and with the most convenience possible in their case; provided nevertheless, that those who have been made Prisoners do not serve until they have been exchanged or ransomed.

## XXVII

The Sick on both sides shall not be made Prisoners, but may remain with safety in the hospitals, where each of the belligerent Parties and auxiliaries shall be at liberty to leave a guard, which, as well as the sick, shall be returned under the respective passports of the Generals, by the shortest route, and without being subject to annoyance or arrest.

The same rule shall apply to *Commissaires des guerres*, Chaplains, Doctors, Surgeons, Apothecaries, Hospital Attendants, Servants and others in charge of the Sick, who must not be made Prisoners, but shall be likewise returned.

## XXVIII

Persons under safe-guard shall enjoy entire safety on both sides, and in case they be found too near the Armies, they shall be sent back without suffering violence or ill treatment.

## XXIX

There shall be no compulsion whatsoever on Prisoners to enlist.

XXX

Prisoners shall be permitted to give notice, by open letter, of their detention.

XXXI

Passports shall be granted on both sides to the stewards of the Generals, to enable them to obtain provision on condition that they shall not approach nearer than two leagues to the respective Fortresses and armies.

XXXII

If it should happen that the ransom of any Officer be not regulated by the present Cartel, or that any difficulty arise, the two sides shall come to an agreement thereon; and the decision reached shall be observed and held as being inserted in the present treaty, in accordance with the certificates to be given in regard to the matter by the Generals of the armies or the Governors and Commanding Officers of the fortresses.

XXXIII

And to give full and entire effect to the present Cartel, we have signed and set our seals thereto. This Cartel shall be inviolably observed as of the same full authority as if signed by Their Majesties our Sovereigns; and for greater security we declare, in accordance with the powers received from Their Majesties, that it shall be likewise ratified by Them, if it be deemed necessary, at the first demand of either of Their Majesties. Given at Sluys in Flanders, the sixth of February one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine.

*Signed*

LOUIS JACQUES-CHARLES, *And* HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY.  
Marquis Du Barail.

## XVIII

### MEMOIRE DES DISPUTES SURVENUES SUR LE CARTEL ENTRE LES GENERAUX DE S.M.T.C. ET CEUX DE S.M.B. SERVANT EN AMERIQUE.<sup>1</sup>

[Phillipps' MS. 35864, now in the *Canadian Archives*.]

1<sup>re</sup> Après l'affaire du 13 7<sup>bre</sup> 1759 La plus Grande partie des officiers Et Soldats françois blessés a Cette affaire furent transportés a l'hopital General de Quebec et l'armée françoise en faisant sa retraite les y Laissa sur la bonne foy du Cartel.

Les anglois ne S'emparèrent de Cet hopital que la nuit Suivante, Le S<sup>r</sup> de Boiscler Commissaire des Guerres qui y estoit resté pour les françois demanda quelque tems après au Brigadier General Moncton Command<sup>r</sup> les troupes angloises, des passeports pour tous les officiers et Soldats qui estoient en etat de joindre l'armée, Mais Ce General n'en Voulant accorder que pour Ceux entrés dans Cet hopital avant le 13 7<sup>bre</sup>, Et de Ce jour retint Comme Prisonniers tous Ceux qui y estoient entrés le Jour du 13, disant qu'il les regardoit Comme pris Sur le Champ de bataille quoique Cet hopital en fut éloigné d'un quart de Lieue.

Le Chevalier de Levis Commandant L'armée Françoise reclama En différentes reprises au General Anglois Ces officiers et Soldats, Et qu'ils fussent renvoyés a l'armée conformément au Cartel, Il envoya même a Quebec le S<sup>r</sup> de Bougainville Colonel pour discuter Cette Cause, Mais Cela fut en vain, le General Anglois Ne Voulant pas démordre de son silence, Et en Consequence Il fit embarque dans le Mois d'octobre pour etre envoyés en Angleterre plusieurs officiers dont quelques uns

<sup>1</sup> See notes on the English translation which follows.

N'étoient pas encore retablis de leurs blessures, Et Laissa les autres dans l'hôpital Sous la Garde d'un officier et 30 hommes.

2<sup>e</sup> Le M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil Gouverneur General du Canada Voyant les difficultés qui venoient de lui Être faites par le Général Moncton s'adressa au Major Général Amertz Gouverneur de la Nouvelle Angleterre et Commandant L'armée Angloise Sur les frontieres du Lac Champlain, Et lui proposa que Suivant le Cartel Il Se Fit un Echange des Prisonniers, Mais Ce General ne Voulant Le faire que d'homme pour homme, il refusa La rançon des Prisonniers qu'il eut de Surplus après l'Echange fait, lesquels Il retint par Consequent dans la Nouvelle Angleterre.

3<sup>e</sup> Dans le Cours de l'hiver un parti françois fit Prisonniers un Cadet des troupes Angloises et quelques Bouchers et Marchands qui furent Conduits et retenus a Montreal.

4<sup>e</sup> Le General Murray qui resta Gouverneur de Quebec et Commandant En Chef le Corps des troupes angloises restées dans Cette place, fut Longtems sollicité par le S<sup>r</sup> de Bellecombe Capitaine Aide Major au Regiment Royal Roussillon pour qu'il lui donnât Sa liberté, ainsî qu'à tous les officiers qui étoient entrés Comme lui blessés a l'hôpital général le 13, Mais Ce Général ne voulant Jamais La lui accorder, il lui donna la permission d'aller a Montreal sur sa parole avec une Lettre par laquelle il proposoit au Chevalier de Levis que Conformement au Cartel, il se fit un echange tous les Mois des Prisonniers qu'on se feroit de part et d'autre et dit Verbalement a Cet officier que pour l'obliger Il recevrait une rançon Conditionnelle pour tous les officiers qui étoient entrés le 13 a l'hôpital, Laquelle Seroit mise en sequestre entre les Mains du Tresorier anglois Jusqu'à ce que les Puissances Belligerantes eussent décidé de Cette dispute, que quant a lui, Il ne pouvoit pas Changer leur sort.

Cet officier partit pour Montreal et fut renvoyé Sonica a Quebec pour traiter de Cet echange avec les Instructions de M. de Vaudreuil.



Lorsque le Gouverneur Anglois Eut Vu de la facon que le General Amertz en avoit agi dans l'Echange qu'il en avoit fait, Il ne Voulut plus recevoir de rancon Conditionnelle pour les officiers entrés le 13 a l'hospital et Cette Negociation fut rompué, Il donna La permission a Cet officier de remonter a Montreal.

Après L'affaire du 28 avril, Et que le Chevalier de Levis Eut Bloqué Quebec, il détacha de son armee une Garde a l'hospital Général pour empêcher le desordre et les Cruautés que les sauvages N'auroient pas Manqué d'Exercer sur deux Cens Malades anglois qui estoient dans Cet hospital et Sur une Garde qu'ils y avoient Laisée pour la police, la plus Grande partie des blessés tant françois qu'anglois furent transportés

distinctement dans Cet hospital et Traités de Meme, Le S<sup>r</sup> de Bellecombe qui avoit suivi le Chevalier de Levis dans l'intention de rentrer dans la place, resta dans Cet hospital avec la permission des deux Généraux pour y faire avoir soin des Malades.

Les Religieuses de Cet hospital avec la permission du Chev<sup>er</sup> de Levis firent demander au Gouverneur Anglois la subsistance qu'il avoit Coutume d'Envoyer tous les quatre jours a leurs Malades et La Garde, ce qu'il fit pendant tout le tems que dura le Siege.

5° Dans L'Intervalle du Siege Le Gouverneur Anglois fit demander au Chev<sup>er</sup> de Levis que Conformement au Cartel il lui renvoya tous les soldats Convalescents qui estoient a l'hospital, Ce Général lui fit reponse qu'il n'etoit pas possible que l'intention des officiers qui avoient fait le Cartel par ordre de leurs souverains Eut Jamais été de faire passer un renfort a une Ville assiegée qu'il ne pouvoit les lui renvoyer dans les Circonstances presentes.

Lorsque le Chev<sup>er</sup> de Levis Leva le Siege de Quebec Il laissa a l'hospital la Garde qui y avoit resté pendant Le Siege, ainsy que Celle des Anglois, Et Tous Leurs Malades et Convalescents Sans avoir emmené un Seul homme.

6° Deux Jours après la levée du Siege le Gouverneur Anglois fit dire au Ch<sup>e</sup> de Levis d'Envoyer des Vivres pour faire Subsister les Malades qu'il avoit laissés a l'hopital General.

Que si dans quatre Jours il ne leur en faisoit passer, Et qu'il fut obligé de leur en fournir Il les retiendrait Comme Prisonniers, Le Chevalier de Levis ne s'étant pas trouvé a Meme de leur en faire parvenir, tous les officiers et Soldats blessés ou autres furent faits prisonniers ainsi que la Garde qui fut transférée dans des prisons de Quebec, quelques officiers qui firent faire des representations au Gouverneur du tort qu'il leur feroit en les retenant Prisonniers eurent des passepart pour Joindre leurs Corps et de Servir Le Chev<sup>e</sup> de Levis reclama la Garde qu'il avoit Laissée Sur la bonne foy du Cartel, aini que tous Ceux qui estoient restés dans l'hopital que suivant le Cartel Ils estoient obligés de fournir des Vivres aux Malades dans les hopitaux, Le Gouverneur lui fit reponse que Vû les différentes disputes qui s'etoient passées au Sujet du Cartel que les françois Interpretoient toujours a leur avantage, Il n'en reconnoissoit plus de Ce Jour là et qu'il l'avoit ecrit au Roy Son Maitre.

Les Prisonniers françois qui estoient détenus a Quebec etant attaqués du Scorbut Mourant tous les Jours de Cette Maladie, Il fut demandé au Gouverneur par le S<sup>r</sup> de Bellecombe qui estoit rentré dans Quebec après la levée du Siege, de les Envoyer en France dans un Paquebot Ce qui lui fut accordé par Ce Gouverneur qui a eu toutes sortes d'attentions pour Cet officier Jusqu'au Moment de son départ de Quebec qui fut le 30 Juin.

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### MEMORANDUM ON THE DISPUTES OVER THE CARTEL THAT HAVE ARISEN BETWEEN THE GENERALS OF H.M.C.M. AND THOSE OF H.B.M. SERVING IN AMERICA.

1. After the affair of September 13, 1759, the greater part of the French officers and soldiers wounded in that action were taken to the General Hospital at Quebec, and the French army, when making its retreat, left them there, relying on the good faith of the Cartel.

The English took possession of this hospital only on the following night. The S<sup>r</sup> de Boiscler,<sup>1</sup> *Commissaire des guerres*, who had remained there in the interest of the French, some time afterwards requested of Brigadier General Moncton [*sic*], commanding the English troops, passports for all the officers and soldiers in condition to join the army, but that General was willing to grant them only to those who had entered this hospital before the 13th September, and thereafter retained as prisoners all those brought in on the 13th, saying that he regarded them as taken on the field of battle, although the hospital was a quarter of a league distant.

The Chevalier de Lévis, commander of the French army, repeatedly claimed these officers and soldiers from the English General, requesting that, pursuant to the Cartel, they be sent back to the army. He even sent Colonel the Sieur de Bougainville to Quebec to discuss the matter, but without result, the English General declining to speak of it.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, in the month of October, he had several officers, some

<sup>1</sup> From other documents the Sieur Bernier appears to have been the *Commissaire des guerres* at this time. After the battle he remained at the hospital to take care of the wounded. Cf. *Collection de Lévis*, vol. ii. p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. ii. pp. 160, 229.

of whom had not yet recovered from their wounds, embark for England, and left the others in the hospital under the protection of an officer and 30 men.

2. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor General of Canada, in view of the difficulties raised by General Moncton, applied to Major General Amertz [*sic*], Governor of New England and Commander of the English army on the Lake Champlain frontiers, proposing that an exchange of prisoners should be made in accordance with the Cartel, but this General was willing only to make an exchange of man for man, and refused ransom for the excess of prisoners which he had after the exchange was made. These were in consequence retained by him in New England.

3. In the course of the winter a French detachment captured a cadet of the English troops and several butchers and merchants, who were taken to Montreal and retained there.

4. General Murray, who had remained as Governor of Quebec and Commander in Chief of the division of English troops left in that fortress, was long solicited by the S<sup>r</sup> de Bellecombe, Captain *Aide Major* in the *Royal Roussillon* Regiment, for his liberty and that of all the officers who, like himself, had been taken wounded into the General Hospital on the 13th. The General, however, remained unwilling to grant him that, but gave him permission to go to Montreal under parole carrying a letter by which he proposed to the Chevalier de Lévis that, conformably to the Cartel, an exchange should be made every month of the prisoners taken on each side. He told this officer verbally that, to oblige him, he would accept a conditional ransom for all the officers placed in the hospital on the 13th, this ransom to be put on deposit in the hands of the English Treasurer until the Belligerent Powers should have settled the dispute; as for himself, he had not the power to alter their situation.

The officer left for Montreal and was sent back to Quebec

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just in time to treat of the exchange, carrying with him the instructions of M. de Vaudreuil.

When the English Governor became aware of General Amertz's proceedings in the exchange made by that General, he refused to accept conditional ransom for the officers taken to the hospital on the 13th, and this negotiation was broken off. He gave permission to the officer [above mentioned] to return to Montreal.

After the affair of April 28, when the Chevalier de Lévis had blockaded Quebec, he detached from his army a guard for the General Hospital, to prevent disorder and the cruelties which the Indians would not have failed to inflict on two hundred of the English sick who were in the hospital and on a guard which they had left there to keep order. The greater part of the wounded, both French and English, were carried without distinction to this hospital and treated impartially. The S<sup>r</sup> de Bellecombe, who had followed the Chevalier de Lévis with the intention of re-entering the place, remained in the hospital, with the permission of the two Generals, to take care of the sick.

The Sisters of the hospital, with the permission of the Chev<sup>er</sup> de Lévis, asked the English Governor for the provisions that he had been in the custom of sending every four days for their sick and the guard. This he did during all the time the siege lasted.

5. During the course of the siege the English Governor asked the Chev<sup>er</sup> de Lévis to send him, agreeably to the Cartel, all the convalescent soldiers who were at the hospital. This General replied that it could never possibly have been the intention of the officers who, under orders from their sovereigns, drew up the Cartel, to have a reinforcement sent to a besieged city, and he could not send them back to him under the present circumstances.

When the Chev<sup>er</sup> de Lévis raised the siege of Quebec he left at the hospital the guard which had remained there during

the siege, as well as that of the English, and all their sick and convalescent, without taking away a single man.

6. Two days after the raising of the siege the English Governor requested the Ch<sup>te</sup> de Lévis to send provisions for the subsistence of the sick whom he had left at the General Hospital, [declaring] that if they did not arrive in four days, and he was compelled to provide them, he would retain the men as prisoners. As the Chevalier de Lévis did not find himself in a position to send the provisions, all the officers and soldiers, wounded or otherwise, were made prisoners, as well as the guard, which was removed into the prisons of Quebec. Some officers who had made representations to the Governor of the wrong which he would do to them by retaining them prisoners received passports to rejoin their corps and resume their duties. The Chevalier de Lévis demanded the return of the guard which he had left on the good faith of the Cartel, as well as of all those who had remained in the hospital, declaring that, according to the Cartel, they were bound to provide provisions for the sick in the hospitals. The Governor replied that, in view of the different disputes which had arisen in regard to the Cartel, which the French always interpreted in their own favour, he would from that day pay no more attention to it, and had written to that effect to the King His Master.

As the French prisoners who were detained at Quebec were attacked by scurvy and some were dying every day of that malady, the S<sup>t</sup> de Bellecombe, who had returned to Quebec after the siege was raised, requested the Governor to send them to France in a packet boat. The request was granted by the Governor, who was exceedingly courteous to this officer up to the moment of his departure from Quebec, which took place on June 30.

# XIX

## LETTER FROM THE CHEVALIER DE LÉVIS TO AMHERST<sup>1</sup>

[From the *Collection de Lévis*, vol. ii. pp. 344-348.]

*De Montréal, le 14 juin 1760.*

J'AI détaché le sieur Bonneau,<sup>2</sup> capitaine au régiment de Guyenne, pour mettre sous les yeux de Votre Excellence l'état des officiers et soldats anglois de la garnison de Québec qui ont été faits prisonniers par les troupes de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, au combat du 28 avril dernier.

Les bontés dont vous avez honoré cet officier pendant son séjour à New-Yorck me font espérer que le choix que j'ai fait de lui pour remplir cette commission vous sera agréable.

M. le marquis de Vaudreuil l'a autorisé pour traiter l'échange du sieur de Bonnefonds,<sup>3</sup> lieutenant du corps royal d'artillerie; sa détention retarde son avancement, et je suis dans la confiance que Votre Excellence seroit fâchée, ainsi que moi, de faire ce tort à la fortune d'un officier particulier. J'espère qu'Elle voudra bien en user de même à l'égard du sieur de la Miletère<sup>4</sup> lieutenant au régiment de Languedoc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. ii. p. 457 n.

<sup>2</sup> The Sieur Bonneau entered the army in 1744, and was wounded several times. He was captured on July 6, 1758, in the engagement in which Lord Howe was killed.

<sup>3</sup> The Sieur de Bonnefonds entered the French artillery in 1746, came to Canada in 1757, and was taken prisoner at Niagara, where he had been wounded several times. See p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> The Sieur de la Miletère had been sent to Niagara in the winter of 1759. He was taken prisoner by some of the Five Nation Indians shortly before the surrender of Niagara. He and Bonnefonds seem to have been liberated soon after the receipt of this letter by Amherst. See Amherst to Lévis, June 21, 1760: *Collection de Lévis*, vol. ii. pp. 351-2.

Je supplie d'ailleurs Votre Excellence de s'en rapporter à tout ce que lui demandera le sieur Bonneau, que j'ai autorisé à traiter avec Elle ce qui concerne les officiers et soldats prisonniers des troupes que je commande.

Comme je ne doute pas que M. Murray, qui commande la garnison angloise de Québec, ne soit sous vos ordres, je crois devoir faire passer à Votre Excellence les justes sujets de plaintes que me donne, ainsi qu'à la nation, la conduite extraordinaire de ce brigadier général.

Lorsque j'arrivai devant Québec, le 28 avril dernier, mon premier soin fut d'envoyer à l'hôpital général, qui est près de cette ville, un sergent et vingt soldats, sous le titre de sauvegarde pour empêcher les sauvages qui m'accompagnoient d'insulter les malades anglois qui étoient dans cet hôpital. J'y joignis un officier pour faire les fonctions de commissaire. M. Murray y a tenu une pareille garde et j'ose m'assurer qu'aucun des malades anglois ne s'est aperçu que cet hôpital étoit en mon pouvoir.

En me retirant de devant Québec, le 16 mai, j'y ai laissé conformément aux termes du cartel la même garde avec plusieurs chirurgiens pour avoir soin des blessés françois que j'avois fait transporter audit hôpital, et pour lesquels j'ai réclamé auprès de M. Murray la convention du 6 février 1759. J'ai eu lieu de croire par les différentes lettres que j'ai reçues de lui à cette occasion qu'il étoit disposé à suivre cette convention.

J'apprends néanmoins, depuis quelques jours, par plusieurs voies sûres que, non seulement M. Murray a fait enlever de l'hôpital général les soldats françois dont la guérison paroissoit la plus prochaine pour les faire mettre en prison à Québec, mais aussi qu'il s'est porté à cette extrémité de faire arrêter le sergent et les vingt hommes qui étoient de sauvegarde, et de la constituer prisonnière de guerre.

Ce procédé, que, jusqu'à présent, aucun chef de guerre n'auroit osé avouer, n'a pas été motivé de la part de M. Murray



par aucun prétexte possible ; il s'est contenté de dire à l'officier commissaire qu'il n'y avoit plus de cartel, n'ayant pas réfléchi sans doute que la détention d'une sauvegarde est non seulement une rupture du cartel, mais une infraction solennel au droit des gens.

J'aurois pu faire ressentir aux officiers et soldats anglois que j'ai faits prisonniers le 28 avril les suites du peu d'égards que leur commandant a eu pour les usages les plus sacrés ; mais j'ai préféré de vous donner connoissance de cette affaire persuadé que vous êtes trop jaloux de la gloire de la nation britannique pour laisser subsister un grief de cette nature.

M. Monckton vous aura sans doute rendu compte de l'ordre qu'il avoit laissé, au mois d'octobre dernier, en quittant la ville de Québec, pour constituer prisonniers de guerre quelques officiers et soldats françois qui avoient été transportés à l'hôpital général après le combat du 13 septembre de l'année dernière, cet hôpital étant tombé quelques jours après au pouvoir des troupes angloises. Autre infraction qui n'est fondée sur aucun motif. Les articles 26 et 27 sont formellement opposés à la prétention de M. Monckton, et nul blessé ne peut être regardé comme prisonnier de guerre, s'il n'est pris sur le champ de bataille.

Cette affaire a resté indécise jusqu'à ce moment, et la connoissance que j'ai de vos lumières et de votre droiture me fait espérer que vous donnerez ordre que ces officiers et soldats soient renvoyés libres, et que pareille difficulté ne sera point faite à l'avenir, dans les parties qui sont sous votre commandement, comme, de mon côté, je tiendrai la main à l'observation la plus exacte du cartel.

Je prie donc Votre Excellence de m'adresser le plus tôt possible un ordre pour M. Murray, que j'aurai soin de lui faire passer, par lequel il soit obligé de relâcher la garde que j'avois laissée à l'hôpital général, ainsi que les blessés françois qu'il a fait arrêter, et de déclarer libres tous ceux qui restent audit hôpital, et à rendre la même liberté aux officiers et soldats qui

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ont été trouvés dans ce même hôpital, lors de la retraite de l'armée françoise, qui a suivi le combat du 13 septembre 1759.

Je me félicite d'avoir à traiter avec Votre Excellence une affaire de cette nature, convaincu, par la réputation dont elle jouit dans ce continent, qu'Elle est très éloignée d'approuver de pareils procédés. Je ne me félicite pas moins d'avoir eu cette occasion de lui faire connoître la considération et la haute estime avec laquelle, etc.

## XX

### THE BATTLE OF STE. FOY

[From the *Journal des Campagnes du Chevalier de Lévis* : Collection de Lévis, vol. i. pp. 263-268.]

#### BATAILLE GAGNÉE PAR L'ARMÉE FRANÇAISE COMMANDÉE PAR M. DE LÉVIS SUR LES TROUPES ANGLOISES, LE 28 AVRIL, PRÈS DE QUÉBEC.

Le détachement anglois abandonna pendant la nuit la maison, dont nous nous emparâmes au point du jour. Ils parurent n'occuper que la hauteur où étoit la redoute et où ils travailloient. M. le chevalier de Lévis, croyant les ennemis décidés à s'en tenir à la défense de la place, comptoit de faire avancer l'armée et de lui faire donner les vivres qui étoient dus ce jour-là. Il envoya pour cela ordre de les faire arriver à bonne heure à l'Anse-au-Foulon et monta à cheval le matin 28 pour reconnoître, avec son état major, les positions qu'il feroit occuper à son armée. Et, pour être maître de l'Anse-au-Foulon où il vouloit faire son dépôt; comme il vit que les troupes que les ennemis avoient dehors ne consistoient qu'à quelques détachements, il voulut les reconnoître de plus près et fit occuper une redoute que les ennemis venoient d'abandonner, par des cavaliers à pied. Mais, voyant que le feu des ennemis, qui se rassembloient pour le reprendre grossissoit continuellement, et n'ayant pas de troupes à portée pour les soutenir, il fit retirer les cavaliers. En parcourant les élévations des environs, il aperçut une colonne considérable des ennemis qui sortoient de la ville. Il avoit précédemment envoyé le major

général pour faire resserrer l'armée ; il donna ordre de lui faire continuer sa marche, dit à M. de Bourlamaque de laisser cinq compagnies de grenadiers dans la maison où il comptoit appuyer la gauche de l'armée, et de porter les autres cinq sur une petite hauteur où il comptoit d'appuyer la droite, et, à mesure que les brigades arriveroient à la droite de les placer au terrain qu'il lui indiqua. Il ordonna aussi au sieur de la Pause de se tenir au débouché de l'armée sur le terrain du champ de bataille pour envoyer les brigadiers aux endroits qu'il lui indiqua.

Les deux brigades de la droite étoient placées, et la troisième débouchoit, lorsque les ennemis, qui étoient formés, se mirent en mouvement pour les charger et firent usage de vingt-quatre bouches à feu qu'ils avoient et même de leur mousqueterie, lorsqu'ils furent plus près. M. le chevalier de Lévis s'étant porté à la droite, voyant les deux brigades plus avancées qu'il ne l'avoit ordonné et qu'elles alloient être chargées par toute l'armée ennemie et par conséquent culbutées, sans pouvoir les soutenir par les autres qui n'étoient point arrivées et qui n'auraient pu même les former, attendu que les ennemis les auroient chargées en détail, prit sur le champ la résolution de les faire retirer à l'entrée du bois qui étoit derrière pour attendre que les autres fussent formées et puissent les protéger, ce qui s'exécuta avec la plus grande valeur et activité, sous le feu du canon et de la mousqueterie.

Pendant que la dernière brigade, qui étoit celle de la Sarre, se formoit, les ennemis marchèrent vers notre gauche et forcèrent les grenadiers de quitter la maison. Cette brigade se retira un peu pour pouvoir achever de se former et remarqua tout de suite en avant pour soutenir les grenadiers qui se remparèrent de la maison. M. le chevalier de Lévis envoya dans ce temps M. de Bourlamaque à la gauche où devoit être son poste, qui y fut blessé en arrivant d'un coup de canon et eut son cheval tué sous lui ; et, voyant que le feu continuoit dans cette partie il s'y porta pour soutenir la maison qu'il vouloit que l'on con-

tinua de défendre. Il passa ensuite de la gauche à la droite entre les deux armées, ordonnant en passant à nos brigades de charger, et fit marcher les cinq compagnies de grenadiers de la droite aux redoutes qui étoient sur les buttes dont les ennemis s'étoient emparés.

M. le chevalier de Lévis comptoit charger les ennemis en flanc avec la brigade de la Reine et celle de Royal-Roussillon, qui débordoit lesdites hauteurs ; mais, par un ordre mal rendu par un officier, la brigade de la Reine, au lieu de se retirer à l'entrée du bois se porta derrière la gauche. Il prit sur le champ le parti d'exécuter son mouvement avec la brigade de Royal-Roussillon, qui, après qu'elle eût dépassé le flanc gauche des ennemis, les attaqua si vigoureusement qu'ils furent mis en désordre et suivis de toute la ligne. Si la brigade de la Reine eût été à son poste, on auroit enveloppé les ennemis par leur gauche ; et vraisemblablement on leur auroit coupé la retraite sur la place, ce qui auroit été décisif. Mais ils se retirèrent avec tant de précipitation et ils étoient si près de la place qu'on ne put les joindre, nos troupes étant excédées de fatigues ; mais ils abandonnèrent toute leur artillerie, munitions, outils, morts et blessés.

La brigade de la Sarre étoit aux ordres de M. Dalquier,<sup>1</sup> lieutenant-colonel commandant le bataillon de Béarn. Cette brigade étant jointe avec les grenadiers soutint tous les efforts des ennemis qui avoient porté leurs plus grandes forces à droite pour s'emparer du chemin où étoit notre gauche, qui s'appuyoit à une maison et à un moulin.

Ce fut cette brigade qui souffrit le plus ; elle donna de grandes marques de courage et de valeur. M. Dalquier fut blessé, et montra dans cette affaire beaucoup d'intelligence.

La brigade de Royal-Roussillon étoit aux ordres de M. de

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Dalquier (d'Alquier) is described by Lévis as one of the oldest soldiers in Canada, and an officer who had always served with zeal and application. As Captain of Grenadiers he commanded his regiment at Carillon in 1758, and as Lieutenant-Colonel at the battle of the Plains, where he was wounded.

Pouraillier,<sup>1</sup> lieutenant-colonel, qui fit exécuter le mouvement avec beaucoup de valeur et qui s'est fort distingué dans cette action. Le sieur Delaas,<sup>2</sup> capitaine au régiment de la Reine, qui commandoit les Canadiens attachés à ce régiment, qui se trouvoit tout-à-fait à la droite de l'armée, n'ayant pas eu le même ordre qu'avoit eu la brigade pour se porter à la gauche, et voyant la brigade de Royal-Roussillon qui marchoit se joignit à elle, et se comporta dans cette occasion avec beaucoup d'intelligence et de valeur.

L'armée des ennemis étoit d'environ quatre mille hommes et la nôtre d'environ cinq mille hommes dont deux mille quatre cents miliciens; mais il y a eu plus de quatorze cents hommes dudit nombre, comme la brigade de la Reine et la cavalerie qui n'ont jamais eu part à l'action. Nous avons été obligés de laisser des détachements derrière et nos sauvages s'étant retirés ne combattirent point.

Nous n'avions dans cette action que trois petites pièces de campagne qui, à la vérité, servirent utilement sous les ordres des sieurs Louvricourt<sup>3</sup> et Duvernay,<sup>4</sup> officiers d'artillerie.

Les troupes donnèrent des preuves, dans cette action, de la plus grande valeur, s'étant formées sous le feu des ennemis et étant restées longtemps dans l'inaction, ayant ensuite marché aux ennemis avec toute l'intrépidité possible.

<sup>1</sup> M. de Poulariés was appointed Captain of Grenadiers in the Royal Roussillon Regiment December 18, 1755, and Lieutenant-Colonel 1759. He served at Carillon and at the Plains of Abraham, and in many minor engagements.

<sup>2</sup> The Sieur Delaas (de Laas) became Lieutenant in the Militia of Bearn in August, 1744; Lieutenant *en second* in the Regiment de la Reine in 1745, and Captain in 1746. For his services in the campaign of 1759 he received the Cross of St. Louis. He had charge of the entrenchments at the second siege of Quebec.

<sup>3</sup> The Sieur de Louvricourt entered the French service in 1744. He came to Canada in 1757, and became Captain of artillery in 1759. He was in command of the artillery at Ste. Foy.

<sup>4</sup> The Sieur Duvernay entered the French artillery as a volunteer in 1744. He became a cadet in 1746, and received a commission as an officer in 1747. He came to Canada in 1759, was wounded in the second siege of Quebec, and received the rank of captain shortly afterwards.

La perte des ennemis, malgré l'avantage de leur situation, du terrain et de leur grand feu que nous essayâmes sans répondre, a été plus considérable que la nôtre.

Ils ont perdu environ mille à douze cents hommes tués ou morts de leurs blessures, estropiés ou dangereusement blessés, vingt pièces de canon, deux obusiers, les outils et les munitions. Parmi le nombre des prisonniers, il y avoit vingt officiers.

De notre part notre perte a été de six à huit cents hommes.

## MURRAY'S JOURNAL

[From a manuscript in the possession of the Editor.]

JOURNAL Resumed from the 18th day of May.

1760.

THIS and the following days, the Troops employ'd in bringing to Town the Artillery and Stores which the Enemy had left behind found our Cannon had done great Execution, and that the Enemy's Batteries were mostly destroy'd, this same day Lord Colville with his Squadron Anchor'd in the Bason of Quebec. The Carpenters of the Fleet came on shore, to repair the flatt Bottom'd Boats, floating Batteries and Battaus, a Brig came in this day from Philadelphia, Loaded with Provisions w<sup>ch</sup> the General Purchas'd, having no intelligence of any Victuals design'd for this Garrison, £20,000, Land'd out of the Hunter, Orderr'd the sum borrowed last November for the Government, to be repaid the several Creditors with the promis'd Interest, Orderr'd the Regiments to prepare to take the Field.

May 23<sup>d</sup> The Inhabitants of Beauport were Orderr'd to Level the Lines, being the first Commanded to this work, as a Punishment for their distinguish'd forwardness in assisting the French Army during the Siege.

May 26<sup>th</sup> The General Publish'd a Manifesto Promising forgiveness to the Inhabitants for having taken up Arms, providing they attone for their past behaviour.

27<sup>th</sup> We had account of three Vessels taken by a Schooner Privateer, in consequence of w<sup>ch</sup> arm'd Vessels were taken up to Cruize in the River & Protect the Trade.



28<sup>th</sup>. Establish'd a Market at S<sup>t</sup> Rock, which supplied the Soldiery w<sup>th</sup> milk & vegetables.

31<sup>st</sup>. Had intelligence the Enemy was now Cantoned, in the country from Jacques Cartiere upwards. with a party of Horse advanced to Point au Tremble in front of their Cantonnement, and were Establishing a Strong Post at de Champbeau, our small force consisting at most of 2700, or 2800 Men and cou'd do little in a Strong Country, clear'd but a very little way from the *river*, skirted by woods in the Clearest part, and Intersected by many Rivers, without Pontons or a Proper provision for such a March, I therefore resolved to hire a Number of the small Craft w<sup>ch</sup> came from the Continent, in order to Embark the Troops, with these we could move up and down the River as occasion wou'd require.

June 7<sup>th</sup>. Orderr'd Lime to be Bought at Beauport to repair the walls.

12<sup>th</sup>. Orderr'd the Convalescents to the Island of Orleans for the benefit of the air.

13<sup>th</sup>. Fenced some ground within the walls, for Regimental Gardens.

17<sup>th</sup>. Resolved to establish some Redoubts to secure the avenues to the Town, during the absence of so large a Party of the Garrison, for which reason having reconnitred the Ground the day before myself Orderr'd Maj<sup>r</sup> Morris to take Post at S<sup>t</sup> Foix, and Erect a Redoubt to contain One hundred Men, in Front of the first cross road, lead from that Village to Lorrette w<sup>th</sup> a fleche<sup>1</sup> in front capable of containing three Pieces of Cannon, the whole Frais'd.<sup>2</sup>

21<sup>st</sup>. For fear of finding the same inconveniences as we had suffer'd this last winter in the Providing Fuel, I was now looking out for proper places to procure it from, for this Purpose, Orderr'd Major Irving to S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas on the south shore

<sup>1</sup> An advanced entrenchment somewhat resembling in shape a broad arrow-head.

<sup>2</sup> Strengthened with palisades.

with Two Companies of Grenadiers and at the same time to Swear the Inhabitants of that part while the Party was Pitching their Tents, a Serjeant and three men came into them, from Crown Point, who had march'd a cross the country, & were bringing dispatches from General Amherst, w<sup>ch</sup> they lost in Passing a River upon a Raft. Orderr'd a number of the Canadians from the South shore to the Parish of S<sup>t</sup> Laurent to Cut wood under the direction of Lieutenant Fortye.

June 23<sup>rd</sup>. Major Agnew march'd with six comp<sup>ys</sup> of Grenadiers to Lorrette to establish a Post there.

July 1<sup>st</sup>. A number of Vessels were taken to bring wood from the Island of Orleans.

2<sup>d</sup>. This day was given to the Inhabitants, who were turn'd out of the Town, upon the approach of the French *army*, to come in and take out the Effects, they had deposited in the Recollets.

5<sup>th</sup>. The Grenadiers & detachments order'd up the River, encamp'd this day without y<sup>e</sup> Town.

7<sup>th</sup>. The Transports from New York arrived this day, with the recover'd Men of the garrison.

9<sup>th</sup>. The Troops to remain in Garrison. Encamp'd on their alarm Posts, Except the 15th & 58th.

13<sup>th</sup>. The right Brigades embark'd this morning at the Foulon Cove & the Left this Even<sup>g</sup> at five.

14<sup>th</sup>. The wind westerly, Orderr'd all the Officers on board by two, embark'd myself at Three. Resolv'd to take the advantage of the Tide, & get up as fast as possible, by the time I got on board the Dianna the wind came about to the Eastward, I immediately made the Signal weigh'd *anchor*, and all the Fleet got under Sail, at Eight at night came to an Anchor with the whole Fleet, about a League from Point au Tremble.

July 15<sup>th</sup>. At four in the morning the whole fleet weigh'd, at six pass'd Point au Tremble, where we saw about 150 of the Enemy round the Church, and further up some Cavalry. At eight Pass'd Jacques Cartiere, with a fair wind, the Fort

fired a few Shott at our Boats, but at great distance, a mile above Jacques Cartiere, about 100 of the enemy appeared upon the Bank, The fleet anchor'd a little above the Platon, & there we first Preceiv'd one of the Enemy's Row Galley's w<sup>ch</sup> made off upon our appearance, about an hour after the Cavalry came up oppesite to us, followed by 60 or 70 Canadians, who march'd backwards & forwards most part of the day, Orderr'd Captain Watterstrom to Visit the floating Batteries, as I had given him the command of them; who reported the last w<sup>h</sup> were sent on board the Fleet to be rigg'd, were mostly unfinished, the wind fair this Evening, but the Tide fell out to late. The Piolets wou'd not take the Fleet over the Rapids, before morning, went with the Commodore to Visit the Channel, w<sup>ch</sup> was very difficult & appears almost impracticable for shipping, as the Rocks run out from either shore, and Contract the River into a very narrow Channel, they fired a Cannon Shot at us from Point de Champbeau, and a Guard came down to the Beach from the south shore, we observ'd their Gallies at an Anchor about Two Leagues above us, as the Porcupine drew the least water of all the Frigates, she was Orderr'd to Proceed up the River with the mornings Tide and I directed the floating Batteries to Accompany her.

July 16<sup>th</sup>. This morning the Porcupine, Floating Batteries & most of the flatt Botom'd Boats moved up, these last came to a Graplin of the Rocks for a direction for the Transports, a little after above one half of the Transports got under Sail, and follow'd the Porcupine in Passing the Point of De Champbeau, the enemy fired from a Battery of Three Guns, and the wind Calmning at times, expos'd some of the ships to the fire of the Cannon, a Lieutenant of the Highlanders were Kill'd, two of the Transports went a shore but were got off without damage, on our passing the Rapids several smoak's were made above us, w<sup>ch</sup> were answer'd by others from Jacques Cartiere, Reconnitred the Fort, found no alteration, this evening the wind came about to the westward, observing the

## 310 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

Enemy had several small Guards, sent a Party to cut off that at the Platon, but the Officer having attempt'd a part of the bank, w<sup>ch</sup> proved impracticable was obliged to Return without effecting it.

July 17<sup>th</sup>. Wind still westerly, the current ran so strong, that it oblig'd the Boats of floating Batteries, w<sup>ch</sup> attempted to Join the Division above the Rapids, to return this night. I determined to Surprize one of their Guards, Orderr'd the first Field Officer for duty. Orderr'd him to take 300 men of the Ranging Company, shew'd him the place he was to Land at, & the road he was to take, after he had landed, Orderr'd him to detach, the Rangers & as many of the Troops as compleated the number of one hundred, with directions to take the roads through the woods, and come in behind them, he was to remain on the Spot where he landed, with his Two hundred men, & secure the retreat of the whole. Great number of Fires lighted along both Shores.

July 18<sup>th</sup>. W. Westerly, the detachment w<sup>ch</sup> had Landed, last night made the concerted Signal, at three in the morning the 100 Men w<sup>ch</sup> March'd thro' the woods, came in upon a Guard : an Officer & 40 men, these after firing a few shott, took to the woods, the officer was mortally wounded, & taken Prisoner with Three of his Men, w<sup>ch</sup> Probably wou'd have been the fate of the whole, if the woods had not favour'd their Retreat. To refresh the men & get them Greens, I Orderr'd Major Agnew to land with four Companies of Grenadiers at the Platon, and the other Party to come off, went at eight in the morning to Visit that part of the Fleet above the Rapids, & found them at an anchor in a fine open Bay, opposite the Church Grondines, they fired upon our Boat from De Champ-beau, and the shott came pretty near, the channell being narrow. The Two Rivers Duchesne were opposite to us on the South shore, where they had a Guard. The cavalry Patroled on the north shore, and they had small Guards mostly of the Colony Troops, along the Coast in the Houses.

The Enemy tried to send down a Batteau with Flour, but Observing the coast favourable for that Purpose, I orderr'd in a Floating Battery & Two Boats after her, on the floating batteries firing, the Canadians run after her on Shore & Quitted her, our Boats Towed her off, but being rather dilatory, the Cavalry rid up, fired some shott & Kill'd one of the Sailors. This Batteau had one Hundred bushels of Flour on board, and was intended for their Post below, Returned to the Other Part of the Fleet this evening; observed 500 of the Enemy march up the north shore, having a pair of Colours, was informed by Prisoners, their orders were to follow y<sup>e</sup> fleet; Brought off the Grenadiers & left the ranging Company on shore this night, had some of my Manifesto's Posted up on the Church of Laubiniere, and other Places of the Parish, most of the inhabitants had left their Houses; & fled into the woods.

July 19<sup>th</sup>. W: at W: Orderr'd all the troops a shore that had not been yet, in order to refresh <sup>em</sup>. The inhabitants began to return to their habitations, and to deliver their Arms, Mons<sup>r</sup> Hertels Corps was sent ashore to the Fort of Jacques Cartiere w<sup>th</sup> a flag of Truce. The Captain of Militia of S<sup>t</sup> Croix, came on board gave him a Manifesto, orderr'd him to bring in a Roll of his company, accounting for all his People, and to summons all his People to be at the Platon, at four next afternoon, in order to take the Oaths & deliver their arms. Mons<sup>r</sup> Dumas commanding at De Champbeau, begged leave by letter to send four wound'd soldiers up in a Batteau, w<sup>ch</sup> I granted him, was informed by Colo: Howe the Enemy had abandoned the south shore, the Canadians very fond of Trucking their fresh Provisions for salted & salt, for fear this shou'd turn to an abuse, orderr'd the boats to be examin'd & put a stop to this Trade till the country cou'd be entirely conquered.

July 20<sup>th</sup>. The Wind came to the Eastward & we Prepared to sail, left M<sup>r</sup> Montresor with a company of Rangers, to swear the inhabitants, we were scarce under sail when the wind

came about, and forced to cast anchor again, orderr'd the Grenadiers to land, & Colonel Howe to do the same w<sup>th</sup> a detachment above, in order to swear the People, and take in their Arms, orderr'd a small Schooner to be fitted up with Swivels to send to Quebec, saw the Inhabitants of S<sup>t</sup> Croix and Laubiniere take the Oaths this Even<sup>g</sup> to the amount of 140 fine Stout fellows, keep one half of the men always on shore.

July 21<sup>st</sup> W: W: Colo: Howe landed part of his detachment above.

22<sup>nd</sup>. W: W: I wrote to the Captains of Militia of S<sup>t</sup> Croix & Laubiniere ordering them to bring the boards from the saw mills, and lay them at the Platon to be sent to Quebec, likewise orderr'd them to Cut Cord wood and send it to the same place, the Captain of S<sup>t</sup> Antoine, was ordered to summons in his Inhabitants to take the Oaths, had intelligence Mons<sup>r</sup> Dumas had sent Indians over to the south shore.

23<sup>d</sup> W: W: Parish of S<sup>t</sup> Antoine. Assembled at the Platon, & took the oaths, was inform'd by Colonel Howe, that the Parish of S<sup>t</sup> John's Duchesne, had desired to come in & lay down their Arms, he sent an officer ashore to receive them & swear them, Wrote to Mons<sup>r</sup> Dumas, about the Intelligence I had received of his Sending over Indians to the south shore to carry off and scalp our Men, and warned him that if he design'd to carry on the War in that barboures manner, I shou'd Return it five fold, on every Canadian & Frenchman in my Army, advised him I had a Regiment in my army that was with M<sup>r</sup> Braddock, and had not forgot that affair and were restrain'd only by discipline, from making Reprisals, he return'd a very Civil answer, assuring if any Indians were sent to the south shore, it was intirely without his knowledge.

24<sup>th</sup> The wind in the morning at East, but before the Tide could serve it chang'd to the West again, some German Deserters from the French Army, serving in our Light Infantry, apprehended a man on shore, and brought him on board the Dianna, alledging he was a spy, and that they knew

he had been employ'd in that Capacity all winter I examined him myself and was convinced of the truth of this, he gave me a very exact account of their Posts at de'Champbeau, Jacques Cartiere and the Guards they had along the north shore; that the Picquets of all the Regiments, a company of Grenad<sup>n</sup> and of the Marine, and about 100 of the Troops de' Colonies, amounting in all to about 1000 Men, some of the Montreal Militia included, were at De Champbeau, where they had one Field Piece Brass, two Iron Cannon and two Redoubts, As an Example I intended to hang him, and sent him on shore for that Purpose, directing the officer who was to have the care of his execution, to Respite him if he wou'd engage to give any material information. The officer having reported to me, that he assur'd him he was well acquainted with the Country, knew several Landing places on the north shore and wou'd undertake to guide us, I orderr'd him on board again acquainting him his life depended on his services, and that shou'd we suffer through his ignorance he could certainly Forfeit it. Two Deserters inform'd us, The French Army was Canton'd on the South shore, between Trois Rivires and Montreal. That the Regiment of Berry was at 'the Isle of aux Noix, where Mons' De Bouganville commanded, That Mons' De Vaudereuil, Levi and Bourlamarque, were at Montreal. that the Canadians had orders to Join the Army at a Moments warning; and to take eight days Provisions w<sup>th</sup> them, that they were carrying on a work at Trois Rivires, where they had six Pieces of Cannon and a Mortar, that this was chiefly carried on by the Canadians, there being but very small Regular Force there.

July 25<sup>th</sup>: W: Easterly in the morning, but the Tide would not serve till three in the afternoon, Orderr'd the detachment w<sup>h</sup> was on shore, to embark in order not to Loose a moments time, but at Two the wind chang'd to y<sup>e</sup> West.

July 26<sup>th</sup> The wind came to the Eastward in the night; at three in the morning the Signal was made, and half an hour

after the fleet got under sail Pass'd the Rapids and came to an Anchor off the Grondines half an hour after six with the remainder of the Fleet. no accident happen'd and they did not fire a single shot from De Champbeau. Orderr'd the Transports of the Second Brigade to get under sail when the Porcupine made the signal, the first to follow with the Dianna that they might not be crowded in the narrow channell they had to pass. At Two O'Clock the Porcupine got under sail with her Division, but the wind dying away, she was soon obliged to come to an anchor.

27<sup>th</sup>. W: E: at 5 the Porcupine got under sail with her Division, the enemys Cavalry mounted immediately & follow'd, some time after their Picquets marched, the last was a guard to Two Field Pieces, some cover'd waggons and Thirteen Carts Loaded with Baggage, about 12 we Observed a very great smoak at Jacques Cartiere, w<sup>ch</sup> lasted several hours and was answer'd by others above. At 3 O'Clock the Dianna got under Sail w<sup>th</sup> her Division, the Two best Piolets had gone up with the first, and were not yet returned, and there was only one Piolet who would undertake, to carry up the Fleet, about half an hour after they had got under Sail the Dianna by coming too near the North shore struck on a Rock, 3 times before she got off again. She came to an anchor in three fathom water, but was oblig'd to cut her Cable & leave her anchor, and anchor nearer the South shore. The two Piolets Return'd, The Dianna weigh'd again, and with her Division came to an Anchor of Cape Arbor, we pass'd here thro' a very narrow channell without the least hurt, nor did the Dianna, tho' she struck receive any damage.

July 28<sup>th</sup>. W: E: The Dianna got under sail with her Division about six in the morning, at 10 Joined the other, at an anchor of Batiscan Signal was made for them to weigh, & Join us, at a 11 the wind changed, and the whole came to an anchor, of the Champlain, as we sail'd up the Troops pass'd us at the Grondines, and the Cavalry kept Pace w<sup>th</sup>



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EXTRACT *from a Sketch of the*  
**RIVER ST. LAWRENCE**  
*from Montreal to Deschambault*  
 By ORDER OF HIS EXCELLENCY  
**JAMES MURRAY ESQ GOVERNOR**  
 of QUEBEC  
 by CAP<sup>T</sup> MONTRESOR

SEE LIST OF MAPS CONTAINED IN IT

MONTREAL G. C.



Sketch of the  
LAWRENCE  
Chambault  
AGENCY  
GOVERNOR  
ESOR  
ED N H

GOVERNMENT



THE RIVERS GOVERN

A H E

P E T E R

St. Peter's

St. Peter's

St. Peter's

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us. The schooner I had Dispatch'd to Quebec Return'd, having been chased by some Boats, out of the Grondines. In her arriv'd Captain Stobo, with dispatches from General Amherst, and got an account that part of the Louisburg Fleet was arrived at Quebec, upon which after consulting w<sup>th</sup> the Cominander, was determin'd to send down, two of the best Piolets, to bring them up.

July 29<sup>th</sup> W: W: Detachments of the Enemys Foot and Cavalry, canton'd opposite to us, in the afternoon sent several of the Flat Bottom'd Boats with Two Piolets to Quebec, to bring up the Louisburg Fleet.

July 30<sup>th</sup> W: W: Orderr'd the company of Rangers to Land on the south shore, they returned in the Evening, with the Captain of Militia, Two other Canadians informed me, Mons<sup>r</sup> de Levi and Bourlamarque were come to Trois Rivieres, and were collecting all their force there, that they had a Battery on the Bank of the River, to annoy us in Passing.

July 31<sup>st</sup> W: E: at six in the morning got under sail with the whole Fleet, about an hour after the wind fell, and we were oblig'd to come to an anchor, at 9 the wind sprung up again, made the signal for the whole Fleet to weigh, and came to an anchor off Point a Prue. The Channell here was very narrow and in some places not a Foot more water than the Dianna drew, Orderr'd the Transports of the 2<sup>d</sup> Brigade, to be ready to sail a head when the Porcupine made the Signal, they were to come to an Anchor, as near the Trois Rivieres as Possible, out of Cannon Shot; after the Commodore had sounded the Channell & placed the Boats on the shoals; The Porcupine got under sail with the first Division, they had not sail'd above two Leagues, when the Porcupine run aground on a sand Bank, in the very middle of the Channell, that Division came to an anchor a little below the Church of St Magdaline, and about a League from Trois Rivieres; The Cavalry and Picquets March'd up a long shore as we sail'd, we like-

wise observ'd they had on the south shore, which did the same. The arm'd sloop, Floating Batteries & flatt Bottom'd Boats, went in chase of some Battaues of the Enemys on the south shore, but they run up the River Pouchien, The two Divisions of the Fleet anchor'd, one League and a half from one another.

Aug<sup>th</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> The last night it blew and rain'd very hard from the Eastward and South East; The Porcupine still continued a ground notwithstanding they had taken out all her water and Ballast, they begun to take out her Guns, this forenoon it was so thick and the wind so high, that had the Porcupine been able to sail the Fleet cou'd not venture to take up their anchors, nor had the Piolet as yet sounded the Channell, at 12 the Tide made & the wind falling the Porcupine got off again, we observ'd from the Porcupine a Battery of Three Guns at Trois Rivieres, three of the Embrazures pointing down the River in order to take the ships going up, this made the Piolet very shy of carrying the Fleet past Trois Rivieres as the Channell lay within half Musquet shot of the Batteries, however I determined before I wou'd venture this, to sound the South shore for another Channell, Reconnitre all the Ground about the Batteries, and Landed a Party of Rangers in the night, to take Prisoner and gain Intelligence.

Aug<sup>th</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> The Rangers brought me an old Canadian on Board, who wou'd give but little information of affairs; he only knew there was some Batteries at Trois Rivieres, that the Troops had moved up there from below, and that the Regiment of Guienne was there, it blew very hard this day from the West and S: W: which obliged the ships to Lower their yards and Top Masts, & no Boats could stir from the Fleet.

Aug<sup>th</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> A calm morning I went up with the Commodore & Colonel Burton to Reconnitre Trois Rivieres, & sound the Channell, an Easterly wind springing up at 11, The Porcupine & first Division got under sail, about an hour after, the wind fell, and they came to an anchor of the Church of St Magdaline, from the Porcupine I set out with the above



to Reconnitre the Enemy's works at Trois Rivieres, and observ'd they had got a Redoubt on the beach, in the Front of the Lower Town, with a Battery of 2 Guns Pointing down the River; on the rising ground above they had a Battery of 2 Guns, that Pointed a cross the River. The Commodore found a very good Channell in the middle of the River. The Captain of the Militia of Chantilly, came of to me and I orderr'd him to summons in all the Parish, to give up their arms and take the Oaths.

Aug<sup>r</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup>: W: E: The first division got under sail by day light, and about two hours after the 2<sup>d</sup>, but the wind dying away, they were soon oblig'd to anchor again, sent Captain Lesslie down in a schooner, with orders to Lord Rollo, in case (and in that case only) the wind shou'd not be fair, to Land a Party at Bartiscan, and burn the houses of the Inhabitants who had Join'd the French Army, but not to touch the Church, upon the door of which he was to affix a Placare, I sent him for that Purpose, setting forth the reasons w<sup>ch</sup> urged me to this. The wind springing up, The 2<sup>d</sup> Division got under sail, and at dark, anchor'd of the church of S<sup>t</sup> Magdaline.

Aug<sup>r</sup>. 5<sup>th</sup>: A small Breeze of wind at East, one of the Transports got a ground in the middle of the Channell, on one of the sand Banks, Orderr'd Colonel Howe with the 1<sup>st</sup> Division to Pass Trois Rivieres with the first Spirt, and the rest shou'd follow, about half an hour after the 2<sup>d</sup> Division got under sail, it grew Calmn, and they were obliged to anchor again in the same place; Calmn all this day. at night a Master of a Transport with Two Soldiers, went a shore at the mouth of the River Maurice, where the Enemy had haul'd up a small Sloop, they got the anchor, but not contented w<sup>th</sup> that began to haul the Cable w<sup>th</sup> alarmed their small Guards, who came up and fired upon them, they shot the Captain through the body, and wounded the Two Soldiers, these got on board of their Transports.

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Aug<sup>th</sup> 6<sup>th</sup>: W: W: Landed a small detachment on the North shore, in the Parish of S<sup>t</sup> Magdaline, found only a few women in the Houses, a few of the Inhabitants appear'd on the skirts in the Wood, arm'd but did not fire, the Party return'd after a short stay without doing any damage. W: W: all this day.

7<sup>th</sup> W: W: Sent a small detachment to row in shore, with a flatt Bottom'd Boat, w<sup>th</sup> orders not to Land, to try whether the Canadians would oppose them, as I observ'd them that morning gathering in small bodies about their houses, as soon as the boats got near the shore they run from their houses and lined the Bank, at six in the Evening the wind proved Easterly, the Sternmost Ship weigh'd and got up with the Van—all anchor'd at Trois Rivires, except the Dianna that was oblig'd to lie of Point Prue, upon account of a Rock that lay between that & Trois Rivieres, w<sup>ch</sup> has no where more than 12 Feet water, and which place the Porcupine run ashore upon.

Aug<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>th</sup>: It rained and Blow'd very hard all night, in the morning wind at N: East, all the Fleet weigh'd except the Dianna, Pass'd the Trois Rivires and anchor'd Two Leagues above it, not a shot fired from the Enemys Batteries, was oblig'd to anchor here, because the Piolets, was not very certain of the Channell, and it was necessary to send the Boats ahead, to Sound, as soon as they return'd, weigh'd and anchor'd at the mouth of Lake S<sup>t</sup> Peter's, the Boats went to sound again, Return'd and we weigh'd the water very shallow here, the Porcupine in which I was; touch'd all the way as she went, in the Evening she struck, but got of again, we anchor'd about the middle of the Lake, in very shallow water, none of the Transports having above a foot to spare, and the Porcupine touch'd most part of the night, so that if it had blow'd hard, the Fleet must have Suffer'd considerably, one of the Transports had run a ground at the mouth of the Lake where we were oblig'd to leave her, not to leave the opportunity of a fair wind to get Through.

Aug<sup>th</sup>. 9<sup>th</sup>. At day break the wind continuing fair, send to sound for a deeper Channell, but cou'd find none deeper than 12 Feet, & many of the ships drew as much, made sail, the Man of War and largest Transports touching all the way for 7 Leagues, but as it was a soft clay, if the ship struck on a Piece of Ground, that was a Little more rais'd than the rest, she was Easily got of, the Porcupine struck seven times this day, but got off w<sup>th</sup> ease, except the last, when she was oblig'd to take out her guns, went a head with the Commodore to try for a better Channell, and found one between three & Four fathom a little to the Northward, The Porcupine after getting out her Guns Putted herself of, and came to an anchor in Three fathom water, where she lay very safe, desired the Commodore to order all the Transports to anchor in the same place, and before night they accordingly did, in a fine Channell, opposite the River St Francis on the south shore, du Loup on the North & about 2 leagues from the End of y<sup>e</sup> Lake. The Transports that had been left a shore at the mouth of it, got off and Join'd the Fleet, The Piolets informed me there was a bank of sand at the end of the Lake w<sup>ch</sup> they were afraid wou'd not have water sufficient to carry over our largest ships, as there was only nine or ten feet water on it.

Aug<sup>th</sup>. 10<sup>th</sup>. W: W: Orderred a detachment of Five companys of Grenadiers, Light Infantry of the whole, and the Company of Rangers to be ready to Land next morning when I made the Signal, sent a small Party of Rangers a shore w<sup>th</sup> two Canadians Guides, to bring off a Prisoner in Order to get Information of the Enemys Situation. Wind being contrary, some of the ships that could do it, warp'd up to the Bank.

11<sup>th</sup>: The small Party of Rangers I had sent return'd without Landing, hav<sup>g</sup> Observ'd some small Guards which had discover'd them, at Eight O'Clock made a Signal for the detachment to get into the Boats, having given orders to Maj<sup>r</sup> Agnew, not to land on any account, If he thought there was the least

Risque, as my only intention were to clean the Ships, when they got in shore, they observ'd several Partys of Regulars mostly; He had orders to send a Flag of Truce to summon the Parish of S<sup>t</sup> Francis to surrender themselves, but observing they were mostly Regulars, and the Coast too difficult to Land at, it being wood down to the water, they came off again, as the wind came to the East, the Commodore Order'd the Boats to be laid on the Channell, and at six the Fleet got under sail, Pass'd over the Bank and came to an anchor at the mouth of the River, some of the Transports in Passing run a shore, but got off again, at eleven seven flatt Bottom'd Boats arrived from Lord Rollo's Fleet, in them came Captain Debbige, with dispatches from General Amherst of an old date. Receiv'd Letters from Lord Colvill, Informing me of Captain Biron's, having destroy'd, two Kings Frigates and 18 Store Ships, of great value, in the Bay of Chalure,<sup>1</sup> He sent up Likewise two additional sailors for each of my flatt Boats, & order'd the southerland newly arrived to come up to the Platon. The flatt Boats had left Lord Rollo of the Parish of S<sup>t</sup> Magdaline, according to the orders I had sent his Lordship, he Landed a Detachment at Champlain, the Inhabitants had retir'd to the woods, but on threatning to burn the Houses they came in a small guard of Regulars retired, and the Parish of Batiscan, Champlain, & Magdaline, took the Oaths and laid down their arms.

Aug<sup>th</sup>. 12<sup>th</sup>: W: E: at day break weigh'd, some of the Transports run a shore but soon got off again, The fleet Entered the mouth of the River between the Islands of La Pierre & Aganula, on the north shore at the end of the Isle La Pierre they had a Boom laid across the Channell, it was made fast by a Cable at the end of Isle La Pierre, and ran over to the Isle aganula & was not finish'd, they had began a breast work & a Battery at the end of Isle La Pierre to Protect it. The fleet was obliged to come to an anchor to cut the Boom,

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. pp. 491-492, vol. iii. pp. 353-421.

here the Porcupine took her Guns on board again, at Eleven got under sail, at 12 pass'd the Sorrell, where the Enemy had taken Post & thrown up an Intrenchment round the Church & wind Mill, they manned all the works as we pass'd they had 7 or 8 Boats, laying up the River ready Manned, our Floating Batteries fired a few shot at them; a mile further up we came within sight of their Two Galleys; a Little above them the Mary an Arm'd vessel, lay at an anchor. The Galleys being but two Miles ahead of us, and a fine breeze, we made sail and chased them; a little after the wind fell, which obliged us to come to an Anchor off the Parish of La Naudraye on the North shore, and S<sup>t</sup> Ours on the south, at 5 O'Clock the Marie got under sail, and went up the River.

Aug<sup>r</sup>. 13<sup>th</sup>: A Calm morning, observ'd small partys of the Enemys Regulars on the north Shore taking the Canadians from their Houses, & carrying them up the country, and Englishman call'd to one of our Boats rowing along the shore of S<sup>t</sup> Ignace, he was brought on board, and said there were accounts among the french, That Isle aux Noix was taken, & that Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlamarque with a large detachment of their army, was at sorrell, to prevent my Junction w<sup>th</sup> the army at the Isle aux Noix, that the Inhabitants at the Isle S<sup>t</sup> Ignace had all left their houses and Join'd the Army at the Isle aux Noix. This same man, had been taken in the winter at Point Levi. I determin'd to wait here till Lord Rollo shou'd Join me, and as many of the Transports wanted wood, I desir'd the Commodore wou'd move down with the fleet, and come to an anchor of S<sup>t</sup> Ignace, where they might all wood in safety; sent four flatt Bottom'd Boats down to hasten up Lord Rollo's fleet, I landed the Rangers at night, and orderr'd the 1<sup>st</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Grenad<sup>rs</sup> to land early in the morning, with 500 men to Cut facines I resolv'd to make an Example of the inhabitants of this Island who had all left their houses & orderr'd Major Agnew to collect all the cattle, sheep and Greens, to be distributed to the whole army; This night I sent the Serjeant of

Rangers (who came to me before from General Amherst) with three men thro' the woods, to carry a letter to the officer Commanding the English army on Lake Champlain.

Aug<sup>th</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> W: E: Blew hard, the Grenadiers landed at seven, the 500 Men to cut fascines an hour after, drain'd hard all day, the Cattle &c were taken of the Island & distributed to y<sup>e</sup> Men. This was a very fruitfull and well settled Island, the facine party could do little; the weather being so bad. As the Porcupine lay within 500 yards of the Enemys Post at sorrell, and they always kept their entrenchment mann'd, expecting every moment to be attack'd, I orderr'd 9 Cohorns, w<sup>th</sup> an officer of Artillery and some Gunners to try what effect a few shells would have on them, & likewise to see how the Cohorns wou'd work in the ships, I fired about 12, it answer'd very well & put the enemy into a good deal of confusion. They lin'd the woods behind their Intrenchments with Caradians & mann'd the Entrenchments itself expecting to be attack'd.

Aug<sup>th</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> W: E: very thick & rainy weather, so much the fascine party cou'd not be sent on shore this day.

16<sup>th</sup> With the appearance of fine weather, orderr'd the whole army to Land, on the Isle St Ignace leaving a few on board each ship to clean & sweeten them. The army landed at 8, when I went ashore found y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants waiting for me, with their Arms. I orderr'd them to be sworn & their arms to be sent on board the fleet, several left the enemys Post at Sorrell that morning, others came from the army on the North shore, by em I was inform'd Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlamarque, commanded at Sorrell with 3, or 4000 Men who were encamp'd in the woods behind the church, that he was then Return'd from St Francis where he went with 300 men, to prevent our landing That Mons<sup>r</sup> De Levi was at Bertier w<sup>th</sup> 3000 men, most agreed that Cannon had been heard for several days at the Isle aux Noix, and that news had come down it was taken, a flatt Boat rowing between the Islands was fired upon an Indian and one of

the Seamen wounded, Received an account from Lord Rollo, that his Ships had been fired upon from the Trois Rivières, that the ships rigging had suffer'd much; Ens<sup>n</sup> Malcolm of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Regiment had his Legg shot off and three of the seamen wounded, owing to the obstinacy of a sea officer on board, who would go thorough the North channell, while all the rest got safe & out of Gun shot, through the Southern Channell. The Army was all on board at Seven at night, wind at East in the Evening, and three of Lord Rollo's fleet appear'd in sight sent a Canadian who had beer w<sup>th</sup> me some time, and knew the country well, w<sup>th</sup> a second Letter to the officer commanding the British Troops on Lake Champlain, Capt. Porter reported, that two Grenadiers of his company in the 3<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> R.A. had deserted when on shore on the Island two Germans inlisted out of the Volontieres Etrang<sup>ers</sup>, at Louisbourg.

Aug<sup>t</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup>. W: E: at six o'Clock all Lord Rollo's fleet came in sight, weigh'd, Just as we were under sail, all Lord Rollo's fleet Join'd us the wind coming to the west, we were oblig'd to anchor off La Naudraye, on the north shore & S<sup>t</sup> Ours on the South, their detachm<sup>nt</sup> on the north shore, kept Pace with us, halting when we anchor'd, we observ'd them to have two field Pieces with them we saw the Marie & their two Gallies, about 3 Leagues a head of us, some of our boats which row'd too near the shore, were fired upon, by some of their Partys.

Aug<sup>t</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup>. Some of the fleet that was a long way a Stern, got under sail to Join us, about an hour after the wind came to West, a deserter from the Regiment of Guienne reported, he left Bertiere the night before and that Mons<sup>r</sup> de Levi was there, w<sup>th</sup> only the Picquets of the army, and about 100 Canadians, the same detachm<sup>nt</sup> that had follow'd us all the way, from Jacques Cartiere & de Champbeau, he said Mons<sup>r</sup> de Levi was going about every where, that the night the fleet dropp'd down, and came to an anchor off Sorrell, he cross'd over, he likewise confirms, Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlamarque commanding at this last place,

he said it was once reported Isle aux Noix was taken, but this was since contradicted, he said they heard nothing of any English Army coming by Montreal all they heard, was that *General Amherst*, was coming with an army by Isle aux Noix, new Brigaded the Army, The two Louisburg Batt<sup>ns</sup> to compose a second Line or reserve under the direction of Lord Rollo.

Aug<sup>th</sup>. 19<sup>th</sup>. W: W: Having been oblig'd to leave the *Dianna* at Trois Rivieres I desir'd the Commodore to fit up a Transport for myself. Putting some Guns on board her, which he accordingly did, and Put 8 or 9 Pounders on board the true Britton, which I went on board of this day; she lay opposite y<sup>e</sup> sorrell.

Aug<sup>th</sup>. 20<sup>th</sup>. W: W: observ'd the Enemy, had abandon'd their Post at sorrell, leaving a few Regulars and 3 or 400 Canadians, The Louisbourg Division wanting wood, I orderr'd em to fall down to Isle S<sup>t</sup> Ignace, Landed one of the Battalions and directed the Mas<sup>s</sup> of Transports to send their Boats a shore for wood, sent a small Party below sorrell, to take a Prisoner, who reported the houses were all abandoned.

Aug<sup>th</sup>. 21<sup>st</sup>. W: W: *Orderr'd* the two Battalions from Louisbourg to Land, and every Soldier to make 3 fascines, sent y<sup>e</sup> arm'd schooner to Quebec to order up more Provisions, in the evening the Two Battalions Return'd on board, I orderr'd them to Row in with their Boats to the Sorrell as if they were going to attack it to draw out the Enemy, and see where their strength might be. There appear'd about 50 Regulars, all the rest Canadians. I resolv'd to convince them, The french Army could not Protect their houses, or hinder them from being burnt, I therefore orderr'd a Battalion of the Louisbourg division to Land, half a mile below the Enemys post at sorrell with 100 Light Infantry a League below that again, to burn all before them, till they met in the Centre, and then to reimbarc and bring off some Priso<sup>rs</sup> if Possible, sent a Manifesto, inform<sup>d</sup> them they was thus Punished, for carrying Arms before my face, That I intended to attack the Sorrell, and if

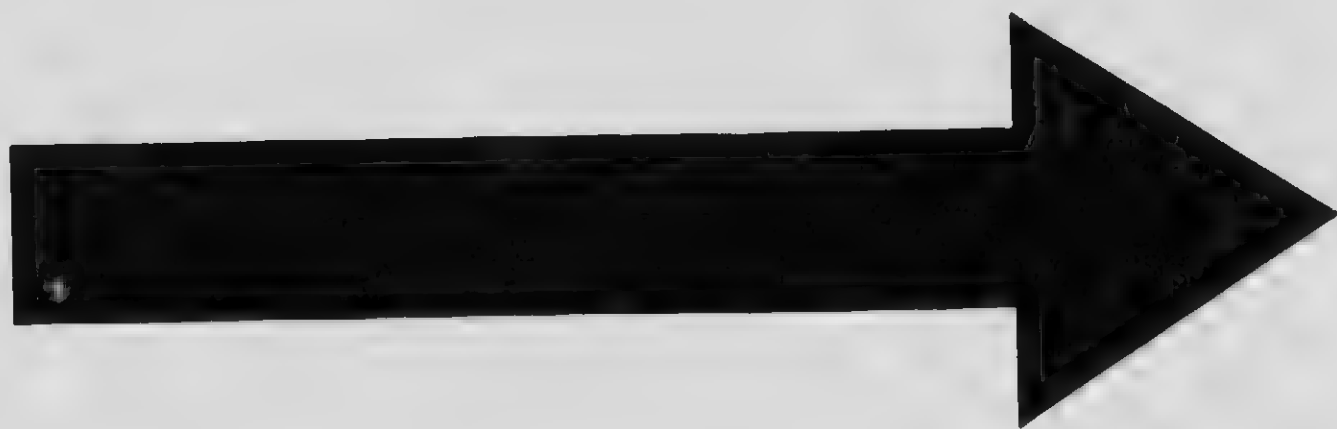


one of them was found in Arms, I shou'd put them to the sword.

Aug<sup>th</sup> 22<sup>d</sup>. W: W: Major Scott who Commanded the Detachment return'd & Reported he had executed my orders, that he had about a Dozen shot fired at him when he Landed, which was all the opposition he met, and brought off two sick Canadians w<sup>h</sup> were the only two cou'd be found, these agree with the rest, that Bourlamarque was gone to the Isle aux Noix, that our army there had been once repuls'd, and had began to cut a road through the woods, That Mons' Bellost commanded at Sorrell, with 50 Regulars & 300 Canadians, that Dumass was on the North side, with Picquets, Cavalry and two Brass Field Pieces; That Mons' de Levi was gone up to Montreal and that Bourlamarque had 4 brass Pieces with him. Landed the men on the Isle S<sup>t</sup> Ignace to make fascines, went a shore myself, the Priest and several of the Inhabitants came in and laid down their arms some had deserted from Sorrell. Effects of the burning, some of these said Bourlamarque was not gone of, but was Encamp'd behind the woods.

Aug<sup>th</sup> 23<sup>d</sup>. W: W: at Eight it came to the north, all the fleet got under sail, and came to an anchor of the Church of La Naudraye at the Bottom of the Isle au Plate, there being a Pass by that island, the Piolets wanted to sound and lay boats on the Channell, before the fleet could go up, by that time, the wind dyed away, some of the Transports having reported a want of Provisions, & upon a Scrutiny there was found six weeks on board, but as the Passage up is often tedious, I dispatch'd another Schooner to Quebec to Press Colo: Fraser, to hasten up the Provisions as much as Possible.

24<sup>th</sup>. At Two this morning a Lieutenant arriv'd from Lord Colvill w<sup>th</sup> letters for me, by him was inform'd the Vengeance Frigate was arrived at Quebec, with dispatches for General Amherst and Lord Colvill. In consequence of the Richmonds arrival in England, dispatched by Governor Lawrence from Halifax, w<sup>th</sup> had caus'd great consternation at home, Colonel



Fraser acquainted me he had got 2000 Cords of wood into the Garrison, that the Provision Vessels were ready, but wou'd not venture to send them without Convoy, this officer brought up a deserter from the Dianna, who inform'd me, the Enemy had abandon'd the Posts of Jacques Cartiere, and Dechampbeau and that there were not above 200 Men at Trois Rivières. the Lieutn't said that as he pass'd Jacques Cartiere, in a flatt Boat he had preceiv'd only 12 Men there, Cap<sup>n</sup> Boyd at the same time inform'd us, he had seen 150 regulars march up in great haste, a few days before, supposed to be the Garrison of those two places, Orderr'd Colo: Fraser at all hazards to send up the Provisions Vessels without waiting a Convey as there was nothing in the River cou'd hurt a boat, sent dispatches home to acquaint the Ministry of Our operations. This day the weather bad and no wind, some of the Troops landed on the Isle au Plate, preceiv'd large bodys of the Enemy on the south shore, even fired some *Musquets* on ours on the Island without reaching them, this confirm'd to me that Bourlamarque was still on that shore, and not gone to Isle aux Noix as given out.

Aug<sup>th</sup> 25<sup>th</sup>. Small Breezes of wind to the northward. The fleet attempt'd to sail several times but was oblig'd to anchor again, Bodys of the Enemy still observ'd on the South shore.

26<sup>th</sup>. W: W: The sea officers reported they had been sounding the Channell, and could not find above ten feet water in some places so that the Porcupine & all the large Transports must have been all left behind, I examined the Piolets who seem'd very certain they cou'd find more water, on this I went with the Commodore to see it sounded, there were a great many places where the Roads lay w<sup>ch</sup> had but little water, but we found of 18 feet water, and placed Boats on the Rocks & Sho'ls, to serve for a direction to the fleet, a fine Easterly wind sprung up in the Evening, which gave an opportunity to the ships a stern, to get up close to the difficult Passage, in order to be ready of Pass in the morning Early.

Aug<sup>th</sup> 27<sup>th</sup>. A fine wind at East, at day break the fleet got under sail, and Pass'd without any accident, The Porcupine touch'd once or twice, but receiv'd no damage; at 12 the Fleet anchor'd of the Church of repentigny, on account of a Shoal and a difficult Turning in the Channell, The Piolets carried on the ship I was in, and having dropp'd Boats to Point out the Channell, the other ships follow'd, three of the Transports went a shore, by their crouding to much in the narrow Passage, but got off again without being hurt. The wind falling at 4 in the afternoon, we anchor'd oppesite the Isle Therese, on the north shore; and the Church of Varrennes on the south; Four Prisoners were taken belonging to Dumas Picquets in Passing from the main to the Island of Montreal; as I could Proceed no further this night, I landed with the Light Infantry and Rangers to view the Island, intending to take Post there, till I cou'd procure some good intelligence from General Amhersts *army*. orderr'd them to remain on Shore this night, and make the houses defencible; I likewise detach'd a few Rangers to Land below the Church of Varennes to make Prisoners.

Aug<sup>th</sup> 28<sup>th</sup>. The Party of Rangers detach'd last night Return'd with two Prisoners, an English soldier, who had been taken Prisoner at Lake Champlain six weeks ago, had made his escape from Montreal, and came on board the Fleet, he inform'd me, it was believed at Montreal the Isle aux Noix was taken, the fireing w<sup>ch</sup> they heard for some time, having ceased of a sudden. he had likewise heard there was an English *Army* at the Isle au Galeau, they were fortifying Montreal, and had taken Post on Isle S<sup>t</sup> Helene opposite to the Town, that the greatest Part of their Cannon was there, The Marie Frigate was laying w<sup>th</sup> her Broadside to the Town, and they had put some small Pieces of Cannon in Batteaus, the Prisoners confirm'd this intelligence, and added that Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlamarque, had received two express's the day before, and that his Corps had begun to March

towards Montreal, w<sup>th</sup> design it was said to Post himself at Longueil, to Prevent our Junction w<sup>th</sup> the army at the Isle aux Noix.—W: E at day break the fleet got under sail, I orderr'd the Light Infantry & Rangers on board, at Ten the wind falling, the Van of the fleet anchor'd of Point au Tremble, orderr'd the Light Infantry and Rangers to Land again on the Isle of Therese and each Transport to send there a boat for wood as they were in great want. at Two in the afternoon, observed the Picquets of the French army, Half on the Island of Montreal oppesite to us; this was the Corps under Mons<sup>r</sup> Dumas, w<sup>th</sup> had follow'd us all along; they made several Marches and Counter Marches before they took Post, a body w<sup>th</sup> two stand of Colours, came down on the Montreal road, and took Possession of the village of Point au Tremble; This night they had fires light on both shores.

Aug<sup>th</sup> 29<sup>th</sup>. W: W: Landed one half of the Army on Isle Therese to make Fascines. observ'd the Enemy had lined the Coast on both sides, from Point au Tremble w<sup>th</sup> detachm<sup>ts</sup>, in the afternoon the detachments on the south shore began to move upwards; in the Evening the men embark'd, sent a small Party of Rangers at night above the Church of Varrennes, to Pick up some deserters.

Aug<sup>th</sup> 30<sup>th</sup>. The other half of the army landed, to continue making Fascines, the Party return'd without taking any Prisoners, having been fired upon wherever they attempted to Land, the wind being north, I desired the Commodore to order up the sloop and schooner, with two floating Batteries, and sent Colonel Howe, to view the Enemys motions, and observe where it might be proper to take Post, the wind was so much down the River they were oblig'd to return, without doing any thing, having observed about 200 Canadians with a few regulars shewing themselves about the Church of Varrennes, and keeping the Country in Subjection. I orderr'd 4 Companies of Grenadiers 4 of Light Infantry & the Rangers to hold themselves ready to Land & take Possession of it. I

orderr'd Colo Morris with Two Companies of Grenadiers and two of Light Infantry, to land about half a mile above the Church, & directed them to take Possession of some houses I shew'd them. as soon as landed he was to fire three Rocketts as a signal to Major Wrey who commanded the other body, to Land a Little below the church, where he was with the two Companies of Grenadiers to take Possession of some houses, while Captain Mackey march'd with the Light Infantry and Rangers, directly to the Church.

Aug<sup>t</sup>. 31<sup>th</sup>. I Landed with this last, & Possesed ourselves of the Church, at day break without the loss of a man, the sentries fired a few Shots: the detachment w<sup>h</sup> landed above, and then run, we kil. and wounded Eight, took Twenty Prisoners, three of w<sup>h</sup> Regulars, ye rest Canadians, these inform'd me a Cap<sup>n</sup> of Languedoc, w<sup>h</sup> 50 Regulars & 200 Canadians were left to guard this Post, That Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bouganville was at Longueill with Two Regiments & some Picquets, that they had abandoned the Isle aux Noix, leaving a Captain & 50 Men to Cap<sup>t</sup>ulate for that place, w<sup>h</sup> the English army had taken Possession of some days ago. I reconnitered the country, w<sup>h</sup> I found to be very open & proper to take Post with my Army, till I could procure intelligence of General Amhersts Motions, the Engineers having examin'd it, was of the same opinion, but the necessary number of Fascines not being ready & determin'd not to land my army till I cou'd take Post with the whole and cover them, I reimbark'd the Party leav<sup>g</sup> two companies of Light Infantry and the Rangers with an Engineer to fortifye the Church, for small arms, in the best manner they cou'd, and to keep post there till I was ready to Land with the Army. This day the weather was so bad I could not send the Men on shore to make fascines till the afternoon; a Detachment of the Enemy from Boucher-ville attacked our Post, they dvanced within 100 Yards of the Rangers, who after half an hours firing drove them off, kill'd & wounded several of them.

Sep<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>. W: W: Half the army on shore to make fascines, desir'd the Commodore to Push up with all the arm'd Vessels, as far as he cou'd Prudently, to observe y<sup>e</sup> Enemy, and give me information of their operations, sent back the Canadians taken yesterday to their Parishes, and gave them Manifesto's to Publish, in which I granted those in arms to come in, was inform'd by some Canadians at the Church of Varrennes, that Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlamarque, who was still at Longueill, Intended to attack the Post. I orderr'd the Party in that case to retreat, and left them Boats for that Purpose.

Sep<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>. W: W: Orderr'd the Engineers to mark out some Redoubts, I intended to make before I encamp'd my army at Varrennes, all the Inhabitants of the Parish of Boucherville, came in took the Oaths, and laid down their arms; some of them inform'd me, some of the French soldiers had land in the Country, and wou'd desert, if they were assured of being received. I immediately sent an order, specifying, I would receive them all, and they shou'd have liberty to continue in the country, orderr'd all the army to land and Encamp on the Isle Therese, where it was ready to act as occasion would require, in the afternoon Lieu<sup>t</sup> Bentzell arrived at Varrennes from Colo: Haviland, with a Messuage that he had taken Isle aux Noix and S<sup>t</sup> Johns; a great many soldiers deserted from the French army to us, upon my Messuage.

Sep<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup>. Number of Canadians came in & several Regulars, who inform'd me the armys of Bourlamarque & Bouganville had Quitted the south shore and were gone over to Montreal & that General Amhersts army had taken Isle au Galau, the Picquets of their army are still Canton'd, about Point au Tremble & Isle Therese.

Sep<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup>: Orderr'd a Party for work of 800 men over to Varrennes, went with the Light Infantry to Boucherville, and sent from thence to Longueill, ordering that Parish to submit. I sent from Boucherville Lieut Bentzell, w<sup>th</sup> orders to Colonel

Haviland & Lieu' Montresor to General Amherst, acquainting him where I was, and that I was ready to act in whatever manner he was pleased to order. I divided the company of Rangers, and detach'd one half of these, with each of these two Gentlemen, return'd in the Evening to Varrennes with the Light Infantry where I left them, and cross'd over to Isle Therese. Orderr'd the Grenadiers of the *army* to cross the water by day break, desired Colonel Burton to take the Command, and March with them and the Light Infantry to Longueill.

Sep<sup>r</sup> 5<sup>th</sup>. March'd with them myself and on the road, met the Inhabitants who were coming to deliver their arms, and take the oaths, there two nations of Indians, of Hurons and Iroquois, came in & made their Pace, at the same time Three of Sir William Johnstons Indians came in w<sup>th</sup> a letter from General Amherst, w<sup>ch</sup> I immediately answer'd, sent an order to the Parish of La Praine to submit, observed from Longueill, the Enemy had taken Post on the Isle Therese, were throwing up Intrenchments round it, & raising Batteries, chiefly towards the Montreal side to prevent ships or Boats from Pass<sup>g</sup> the Commodore inform'd me the shipping had been fired upon from the Battery at the Point of the Island, before he came to an anchor. Orderr'd Colo: Burton to take Post at Longueill, with the Grenadiers and Light Infantry, directing to open any letters from General Amherst directed to me, that he might Judge, how he shou'd act, came in the Evening to Varrennes.

Sep<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup>: One of Major Rogers's Ranging Officers came to me this morning w<sup>th</sup> a Letter from Colonel Haviland, sent him back instantly with another, desireing the Colonel to send me his Grenadiers, Light Infantry and Rangers, and to follow with the rest of his army, as fast as he could, the Captain of Militia of Jamaica came in took the oaths and orderr'd the arms of the Parish to be brought to his house, to be delivered whenever they shou'd be call'd for. sent orders and Letters to



all the Parishes on the North shore, ordering them to Submit bring in their arms & take the oaths. Lieutenant Montresor return'd from General Amherst, with an answer to my letter. immediately orderr'd the Grenadiers & Light Infantry to march back from Longueill & cross over to Isle Therese. sent all the flatt Boats round to the back of this Island opposite to Montreal. Orderr'd the Brigades to be ready to move in the morning, and desired the commanding officer of Artillery to go up the River with his Vessels as far as he could.

Sep<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup>. Got over to the Isle Therese at day break with the Grenadiers and Light Infantry and orderr'd the army to be ready to Land on the Island of Montreal, as soon as Possible, having observed the Enemy had Quitted that shore, and the Captain of Militia of Point au Tremble having come over and informed me, his People had all deserted the French army, and wanted to lay down their arms. I orderr'd over 30 Rangers to take Post. Orderr'd the whole when landed on the other side to March in two Columns, The 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade on the right with a Regiment of the 2<sup>d</sup> The left Brigade on the left with another Reg<sup>t</sup> of the second by way of Reserve; The Light Infantry to form the advanced Guard in three divisions Supported by three companys of Grenadiers, the Light Infantry of the 40<sup>th</sup> covered the flank of the Right Column, between it & the wood, at One t<sup>h</sup> a first embarkation was over, at Two the whole army was Landed w<sup>th</sup> four 24 Pounders & two small Field Pieces, these last was orderr'd to march at the head of the left Column. One of the Louisbourg Battalions form'd the rear Guard, w<sup>th</sup> 30 Rangers extended along the Country. at 5 we reach'd the village of Longue Point where I formed the army into one Column that it might Canton in the Houses along the River side. The van halted about a mile & a half from Montreal. Reconitred the ground, and Posted two Battalions between Two Ravines as an advance Guard to the whole, while this was doing a Flag of Truce came from the Town, desiring our army would halt there, as

there was a cessation of arms concluded between General Amhersts Army and them; w<sup>h</sup> would very soon end in a Capitulation. I told him I was a little surprized not to have heard this from General Amherst, but to be certain desired they would conduct an officer I sent in to the General to bring me account from himself and in the main time Canton'd the army in the houses a long the River, several deserters came in as we march'd. In the night I rec<sup>d</sup> a letter from Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlamarque, acquainting me he cou'd not Possibly send the officer to General Amherst, as Mons<sup>r</sup> de Levi would not let him go thorr<sup>gh</sup> the Town, and he could not venture to send him round by the country for fear of our Savages, but sent an officer to serve as Hostage. Orderr'd the army to be ready to march at 5 in the morning.

Sep<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> The army ready to march at 5, but as I heard nothing from the officer I sent to General Amherst. Orderr'd them to lay on their arms, at six another flag of Truce came out with a Captain, making an apology for sending a Lieut<sup>n</sup> in Place of a Captain, w<sup>ch</sup> they had of mine. this surprized me a little, I immediately demanded my own officer back, and orderr'd the Troops to march, as we enter'd the Suburbs, word was sent me, Mons<sup>r</sup> Bourlamarque waited with the advance Guard of the army to speak with me. I went up and he desired me to give him half an hour to draw his Posts into Town, and he would leave the Suburbs clear for my army, this was granted, & I march'd with the army up by the back of the Town, and Pitch'd upon a rising ground within *Musquet* shot of the Town, where I orderr'd the army to Encamp. Gen<sup>r</sup> Amherst sent me word the Marquiss of Vaudruil had Capitulated w<sup>th</sup> him, as soon as the Troops had got to their ground, I waited upon General Amherst who was Encamp'd with his Army, a League to the Westward of the Town. this morning Colo. Haviland arrived with his Army at Longueill. The Grenadiers & Light Infantry of General Amhersts army took Possession of the Gates of the Town.

# 384 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

Sep<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup>: General Amherst acquainted me he intended to Visit my Camp, orderr'd the Army to be ready to receive him, sent a detachment to Point au Tremble, & another to Longue Point, to prevent the sailois from Landing and Plundering the inhabitants.

Sep<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup>: Gave the General a Return of the vacancys in my Army.

Sep<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup>: detach'd a Captain & 50 men to Trois Rivieres to take their orders from Colonel Murray sent there by General Amherst, to take Possession of that Place. General Amherst desired I would give Orders to clear all the large Transports, in order to be ready to receive the French Troops.

Sep<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup>: General Amherst changed his Camp.

14<sup>th</sup>: Sent a Party on board every ship to search for Plunder & arms, several of w<sup>ch</sup> being Missing; The French Troops began to Embark on board the Transports, destin'd to carry to Europe. Orderr'd Amhersts Regiment down to Quebec to Escort the Regiment of Bearn, and two Battalions of Marines sent down in Batteaus; Sent orders to Colo: Fraser to Encamp them on the Heights of Abraham, till Lord Colvill could Provide Transports for them.

Sep<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup>: In consequence of my orders, Colonel Fraser this night, Embark'd between 900 and 1000 men, on board several sloops & Schooner's, in order to attack Jacques Cartiere, where he Landed about three days after without opposition, & the Garrison of the Fort, after firing a few shot surrender'd, there being only Two or three officer's with about 30 Invalids.

## XXII

### GENERAL WOLFE TO HIS ARMY

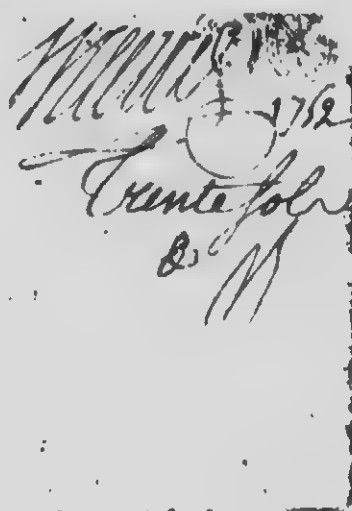
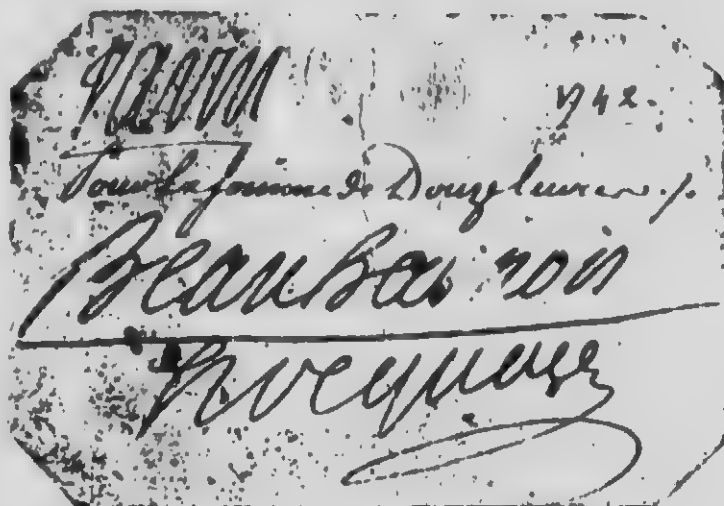
[This Address is found in the manuscript containing the continuation of Murray's Journal printed above.]

I CONGRATULATE you, my brave countrymen, & fellow Soldiers! on the spirit and Success with which you have executed this important part of our enterprise. The formidable Heights of Abraham are now surmounted; and the City of Quebec, the object of all our toils, now stands in full view before us. A perfidious enemy, who have dared to exasperate you by their cruelties, but not to oppose you on equal ground, are now constrained to face you on the open plain, without ramparts or entrenchments to shelter them.

You know too well the forces which compose their army to dread their superior numbers. A few regular troops from Old France, weakened by hunger & sickness, who when fresh were unable to withstand British Soldiers, are their General's chief dependence. Those numerous companies of Canadians, insolent, mutinous, unsteady and ill disciplined, have exercised his utmost skill to keep them together to this time; and as soon as their irregular ardour is damped by one firm fire, they will instantly turn their backs, and give you no further trouble but in the pursuit. As for those Savage tribes of Indians, whose horrid Yells in the forests have struck many a bold heart with affright, terrible as they are with the tomahawk and Scalping-knife to a flying and prostrate foe, You have experienced how little their ferocity is to be dreaded by resolute men upon fair ground: you can now only consider them as the Just objects of a severe revenge for the unhappy fate of many slaughtered countrymen.

This day puts it into your power to terminate the fatigues of a Siege which has so long employed your courage and patience. possessed with a full confidence of the certain success which British valour must gain over such enemies, I have led you up to these steep and dangerous rocks; only solicitous to shew you the foe within your reach. The impossibility of a retreat makes no difference in the situation of men resolved to conquer or die: and, believe me, my friends if your conquest could be bought with the blood of your general, he would most cheerfully resign a life which he has long devoted to his country.

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CARD MONEY OF THE FRENCH RÉGIME



# TABLE OF ISSUES OR SUPPOSED ISSUES OF CARD MONEY FROM ITS INTRODUCTION IN 1685 UNTIL ITS SUPPRESSION IN 1718.

[This Table is taken from an article on Canadian Money by R. W. McLachlan in *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, October 1910. See vol. ii. p. 331.

DATE OF ISSUE.	INTENDANT.	GOVERNOR.	CLERK OF THE TREASURY.	IN EXISTENCE.	DENOMINATIONS.	REMARKS.
1685	De Meulles	De la Barre		None	4 and 2 livres and 15 sols	Mentioned in de Meulles' letter to the Minister. There was possibly an issue during this period.
1687	De Champigny	Denonville		None	...	Minister advised of this issue by letter November 1690.
1691	do.	De Frontenac		None	Not given	De Champigny writes that card money was made between 1692 and 1694.
1692-1698	do.	do.		None	Not given	New issue by ordinance, dated 24th April 1702, to renew the old issue.
1702	do.	De Callières	Impressis	None	32, 16, 4, 2 and 1 livres	An issue by Beauharnois is mentioned in Raudot's despatch of 1708.
1703	Charles de Beauharnois	Vaudreuil	do.	None	Not given	Their despatch of 1708 advises the Minister that they had to renew from time to time the worn-out small cards.
1705	The Raudots	do.	do.	None	Most likely only small denominations.	The Governor and Intendant advised the Minister that they had issued 3000 cards each of 100 and of 50 livres. These were probably the first cards signed by the Governor.
1706	Father and Son			None	100, 50, 40, 20, 12, 6, 4 and 2 livres and 20, 15 and 10 sols	A complete set of this issue has been preserved in the archives of the Department of Marine in Paris.
1711	do.	do.	do.	None	Not given	An issue of new cards was authorized by Royal ordinance ordering the total withdrawal of the old card money. No cards issued during this period.
1714	Bigon	do.	do.	Yes		
1717	do.	do.	.....	None		
1718-1738			...	...		



1729	Flocquart	De Beutharnois	Varin	DENOMINATIONS.							REMARKS.
				24 livres ( <sup>no</sup> 5)	12 livres	6 livres	3 livres	30 sols	15 sols	7 sols	
1730	do.	do.	do.	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	Issued under ordonnance of 1729.
1733	do.	do.	do.	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	Issued under ordonnance of 1729.
1739	do.	do.	do.	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	Issued under ordonnance of 1733.
1735	do.	do.	do.	5	1	...	...	...	...	...	Issued under ordonnance of 1733.
1738	do.	do.	do.	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	Issued under ordonnance of 1733.
1741	do.	do.	do.	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	Issued under ordonnance of 1733.
1742	do.	do.	do.	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	Issued under ordonnance of 1733.
1747	do.	De La Gallie-sonnière	Foucault	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	Issued under ordonnance of 1742.
1749	Bigot	Lajonquiere	Beard	2	...	1	1	1	1	1	Issued under ordonnance of 1742.
1752	do.	Duquesne	do.	...	...	...	...	3	1	...	Issued under ordonnance of 1749.
1757	do.	Vaudreuil II	De Villars	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	Issued under ordonnance of 1749.
	Total			18	14	5	3	10	5	2	57
1750-1756	Bigot		.....	Issued "ordonnances" or treasury notes on his sole responsibility good for different sums from 2 to 100 livres.							
1735	Salmon not Intendant but a (commissaire) Ordonnateur	Bienville		An issue of card money was authorized for Louisiana for 20, 15, 10, 5 and 2 1/2, 1 1/2 and 6/4 sols.							
				(*10) The figures under the denominations show the number of examples known of each, but there are several others found in some small collections to which I have not been able to gain access.							

Issued "ordonnances," or treasury notes on his sole responsibility good for different sums from 2 to 100 livres.

An issue of card money was authorized for Louisiana for 20, 15, 10, 5 and 2½ livres and 2, 5, 12½ and 64 sols.

(<sup>10</sup>) The figures under the denominations show the number of examples known of each, but there are several others found in some small collections to which I have not been able to gain access.

26<sup>e</sup> COLONIES 1789

Dépenses générales.

N.º 116816

*IL* sera tenu compte par le Roi,  
au mois d'octobre prochain, de la  
somme de *Quatre-vingt Seize*  
*Livres*

valleur en la soumission du Trésorier,  
restée au bureau du contrôle.

*ministériel*  
A Québec, le *10<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>e</sup> 1789*  
*MM*



## XXIV

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF COLONEL WILLIAMSON ADDRESSED TO THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> AND HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE LIEUTENANT GENERAL AND REST OF THE PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF HIS MAJESTY'S ORDNANCE, Sept. 20, 1759.<sup>1</sup>

[This letter was in the collection of the late Sir Thomas Phillips. It was sold at public auction with others of his manuscripts in 1913.]

I sincerely congratulate you on our success in taking Quebec at last through our perseverance and a lucky dernier effort of our very good GENERAL WOLFE, poor man being kill'd in the Field of Battle did not enjoy the fruits of his scheme well laid, which with all our hearts we prosecuted speedily which was the means of our coming so soon to a period of what a week before we did not expect . . . We attacked with a few of our field pieces (I should have said we prepared expecting they would attack us) the enemy in an open spott of ground called Plains of Abraham and a fair battle follow'd with such vigour on our side that in an hour they fell back and in an hour more they ran for it. We follow'd them close so that it concluded in a runaway retreat, some of the enemy into the town, the rest over S<sup>t</sup> Charles River. GENERAL MONTCALM WAS KILL'D BY MY GRAPE SHOTT FROM A LIGHT SIXPOUNDER, his second whose name I know not now, a Brigadier and several officers kill'd, the whole of their kill'd and wounded I verily believe exceeds 2000 though that number is a French report. This happened the 13<sup>th</sup> instant since which I was very busy with my friend Mac-

<sup>1</sup> This letter was written one week after the taking of Quebec, and two days after the hoisting of the British flag on the walls of the town.

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kellar in preparing to batter the town in breach, when the enemy surrender'd the 18<sup>th</sup> and I hoisted our Union flag on the walls of Quebec that same day. The town is much more batter'd than I imagined; 535 houses are burn'd down besides that, of the ricochet we have greatly shattered most of the rest. We are now about putting the Garison in a state to defend itself this winter.

## XXV

THE ABBÉ DESENCLAVES.<sup>1</sup>

THE Abbé Jean Baptiste Gay Desenclaves was born, January 29, 1702, in the parish of Saint Leonard-de-Limoges, France. He was ordained priest June 15, 1726, was admitted to the order of Saint Sulpice a few months after his ordination, and, two years later, was sent to Canada. On September 1, 1728, he arrived at Montreal, and spent the next nine years in missionary work in the parishes of Notre Dame de Montréal, Sainte Anne du Bout-de-l'île, Repentigny, Longue Pointe and Sault au Récollet. After a visit to France he came to Louisbourg with the Abbé Nicolas Vauquelin in September, 1739. The Abbé Vauquelin was appointed parish priest of Annapolis Royal by Lieutenant-Governor Armstrong, and Desenclaves was sent successively to Cobequit (now Truro), Grand Pré, and Rivière aux Canards (now Canning). In June, 1742, Desenclaves became parish priest of Annapolis Royal, and for twelve years lived on good terms with the Governor and the principal officers of that place. When Du Vivier failed to capture Annapolis in 1744, he attributed his want of success to the missionary priests in Acadia, and reported to the Comte de Maurepas that the priests had not encouraged the Acadians to support him. That minister, writing to the Bishop of Quebec on May 12, 1745, said:

"[His Majesty] is far from being satisfied with the conduct

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 275. The editor is indebted to Mr. Placide Gaudet, Genealogist of the Canadian Archives, for the interesting information contained in this note. If the Acadians had had more advisers of the type of the Abbé Desenclaves, they might have been spared much of the suffering which fell to their lot. It seems incredible that the English should have neglected a man who rendered them such signal service.

displayed during the past year by some of the missionaries in Acadia, on the occasion of the expedition undertaken in that country. He has, indeed, been informed that the Sieurs Maillart, La Goudalie, Laborer and Le Loutre alone endeavoured to obtain assistance for the French who had been sent there, and that the Sieur Desenclave, *curé* at Port Royal, carefully reported to the English Governor all he could learn as to the movements of the French, and exhorted his parishioners to be faithful to the King of England, the Sieur Chevreux, another *curé*, threatened to excommunicate those of his parishioners who took up arms in favour of the French, and the Sieur Miniac, Vicar-General, though acting with greater secrecy, did even more to frustrate the enterprise. His Majesty would have taken care to have these last three missionaries return to France, if circumstances had permitted his doing so; but he shall give orders that they are no longer to participate in the grant he makes towards the support of the priests in Acadia."<sup>1</sup>

Desenclaves took the same stand in 1745 and in 1747, at the time of the expeditions of Marin and of de Ramezay against Annapolis Royal.

During the visit of the Abbé Le Loutre to France in 1753 he persuaded his friend, the Abbé Daudin, to give up a parish in the Diocese of Sens and come to Nova Scotia as a missionary priest to the Acadians. On his arrival Daudin took up his residence at Pisiquid [Windsor]. Some extracts are here given from letters written by him to the Abbé Le Loutre, then at Au Lac, near Fort Beauséjour. The first letter is dated at Port Royal, August 10, 1754—four months after Desenclaves had left that parish:

"As regards Mr. Desenclaves I have no news to send you, except that he is very much regretted by our Gentlemen [the English], and with good reason: no other priest ever did them such good service. They were better acquainted with

<sup>1</sup> *Archives des Colonies*, B. 81: copy in the *Canadian Archives*.

him than M. l'abbé de l'Isle Dieu. I have no doubt you will see to his withdrawal. I am sending you a reply from the commandant of the fort which will give you information. I have returned to M. Chauvreux the Bishop's letters which I found complete, lying in some houses at the Cape where the English are continually. We have written to him in very severe terms. For my part I close my letter—after having reproached him with his trickeries, which he cannot deny—by saying that if I were his superior I would interdict him. It was high time for my mission in this country on behalf of faith and morals. I had never seen anything worse, and I do not wonder that the English are asking to have him back again. . . . I fear that M. Desenclaves may have written against me. It is a matter you should see to. He is a dangerous man, and might be able to tie my hands: you understand what I mean."

The other letter is dated September 26, 1754, and reads thus:

" . . . M. Desenclaves is having himself sought after by the English. He thinks it may be a means of getting back again, but the people [the French] are far from asking for him. He was strongly against the King of France in the dispute. He did not conceal that it would be better to deal with the English than with the French. You can judge of the rest! I have written him a letter in which I do not spare him. He tells me he has sent it to His Lordship. That is his business. The people take my side."<sup>1</sup>

The Abbé Daudin continued to upbraid Desenclaves for refusing to exhort his parishioners to abandon their farms and emigrate to the Isthmus of Chignecto. Desenclaves had left Annapolis in the spring of 1754: the last entry in the Register in his hand is dated April 8, 1754. He went to the d'Entremonts and Amiraults at Cape Sable, which included the two settlements now known as Barrington and

<sup>1</sup> *The Pichon Papers: Canadian Archives*, M. 653.



Pubnico, and remained two years. When Prebble landed there on his way from Halifax to Boston in April, 1756, he took prisoners and carried off many of the Acadian inhabitants. Desenclaves escaped with a few Acadians and found refuge at Baccaro Point, four miles beyond Port La Tour. After staying there for two years and a half he was captured by Goreham's Rangers, who had been sent by Monckton in September, 1758, to search for Acadian refugees in the vicinity of Cape Sable. Monckton has the following entry in his Journal, October 15, 1758:

"The Pilot Schooner arrives [in the River St. John, N.B.] with a Letter from Maj'r Morris—Acquainting me—that, after, having despaired of meeting with any of the Inhabitants—for want of proper Guides—Cap' Goreham with a small party had surpris'd a small village, in which he had taken one Mr. Disenclave the priest & between 60 & 70 Men, Women & Children."<sup>1</sup>

Morris embarked the prisoners and sent them to Halifax. These prisoners with others taken during the fall of 1758 were sent on board two Cartel-ships to France, and landed at Havre in February, 1759. Desenclaves had been nine years a missionary in Canada and twenty years in Acadia. When taken at Baccaro he was poor, old and feeble. Through the good offices of the Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, the minister, M. Berryer, obtained a gratuity of four hundred livres for the poor Abbé, who went to Limoges, where he ended his days. The date of his death is not known. We have from his pen a curious letter addressed to M. Berryer at Versailles, of which a translation is here given.

"MY LORD,—The rumours of peace that are current here lead me to entreat your lordship to allow me to importune you a little. You can read this at odd hours. In any case I have the honour to assure your Lordship that my zeal both for the interests of religion and for those of my country, together

<sup>1</sup> *Canadian Archives*, M. 211-1: C.O. 5: 54; formerly A. & W. I. 89-1.

with the long and frequent interviews I was compelled to have with the English governors and officers, who spoke to me with the utmost frankness, have combined to procure me a vast amount of information, which may, perhaps, be useful.

"It is true, My Lord, that England might listen to, and even submit peace proposals, but, to judge by what was said she would come to no decision until she should have seen the success of her attack on Canada. She has the conquest of that country particularly at heart, because she regards it as an assurance of perpetual tranquillity for New England, [since it would involve] the reduction or winning over of the Indians—the end she has chiefly in view. If Canada be taken, whereof there is great danger, she will be more exacting; if not, she would be more readily disposed to peace. But in any case she will demand portmaon [Port Mahon]; and might in that case make up her mind to cede Acadia and Louisbourg, places henceforth of little value to France, for Acadia is wholly ruined and at least three-fourths of the inhabitants dead.

"It will be said, My Lord, that Louisbourg is completely fortified: but what benefit has ever been derived from the fortifications costing immense sums which, during these last two wars, have served only to cause the loss to France of a great number of men and ships? It would be a good thing, provided that France were as strong on sea as England, and if her officers, both of the Colonies and of the Marine, were as faithful to their prince and to the state as the English officers are,—the thing is loudly bruited in all the seaport towns of France.

"It is a beautiful sight, My Lord, to see English noblemen in North America going to face all the terrors, hardships and even dangers of roads and weather, sacrificing their pleasure and their interests for the service of their prince and their country;—whilst little gentlemen who owe their very means of existence to the goodness of His Most Christian Majesty think of nothing save enriching themselves at the cost of the public and of the individual. They were unwilling to go one

step to defend a fortress,<sup>1</sup> the loss of which brought in its wake the ruin of the fairest hopes of France, the loss of almost all she possessed in the lands of North America, and the affliction of some fourteen hundred families by the loss of goods, of liberty, and even of life for the greatest number.

"I have known, My Lord, and even intimately, an officer who boasted loudly of his warlike exploits, which consisted in the capture of a small, unfortified village,<sup>2</sup> where the only artillery was a few small guns with a single gun-carriage of half-decayed wood. It is true he marched against a more important post,<sup>3</sup> of which he might have made himself master with some honour, had he gone thither with the little force of ships he had and a medium mortar. But was it not foolishness to appear before a fortress, well defended with moats and bastions, mounting large guns and two great mortars; and, moreover, though having only a company of infantry and a hundred ill-disposed Indians, to summon the Commandant and his officers? The glory that he brought thence was that of being more skilful in trade than in the art of war, and of being utterly silly in his manner of writing. In his camp he spoke only of hogsheads of molasses and of brandy. He had made, in a very short space of time, more than two hundred thousand livres in this business or in that of flour, God knows how. Yet this was the officer who alone got himself spoken of in the last war on the coasts adjacent to the Isles Royales [*sic*], and who alone performed those fine exploits, which, I believe, without exaggeration, cost France Louisbourg and those fatal consequences of its capture from which, it may be, we shall never recover.

"Something further might be said, My Lord, concerning the character of the fortifications erected in our North American fortresses. It is true that, even had they been of bronze, they would not have prevented the last reduction of Louis-

<sup>1</sup> Fort Beauséjour.

<sup>2</sup> Canso.

<sup>3</sup> Du Vivier.

<sup>4</sup> Annapolis Royal.

burg. But we would [?not] have had to fear the assault afterwards if the stones had been sufficiently well cemented not to fall into the ditches when the cannons were being pushed on the walls, as I am told they did. Nearly thirty years ago, when walking on the ramparts of the city of Montreal, I detached the stones without difficulty by laying my hand on the walls, the mortar crumbling away like sand. It is reported that the walls of Louisburg as well as of the other fortified places were of similar character.

"I beg Your Lordship will allow me to add here that in the last war it was said that the Court had been on the point of doing away with the Navy because of the poor services which it rendered France. Yet the outcry against it is much louder in the present war. And if formerly we had thought of abandoning Canada because it cost more than it was worth—and the only motive for preserving it was the salvation of the Indians who were being won to God—now, should Canada once be taken, this motive ceasing, we might well withdraw from there entirely and turn our attention to the Mississippi, settling it with people removed from all these localities, and even—so runs the proposal—transporting thither the foundlings of Paris. Thus we could avoid the surrender of port maon, which is worth more to France than all North America.

"We could, however, in order to mislead the English, make pretence of a great attachment to those places so as to give them greater value and obtain more compensation for abandoning our assumed demands.

"It is true that we need a station for the cod-fishery; but such could be found easily, and we would secure a most favourable one, where pasturage and tillage could be had and where it would suffice to place a few guns and keep ships as is done by the English.

"I have the honour to entreat Your Lordship to pardon the liberty I am taking, since I have no other favours to ask of you after the assurances given me that provision would be

made for my salary and that I would be reimbursed for my losses and outlays caused by the disasters of the Acadians. I shall have no further reason for importuning Your Lordship. The grief alone that the misfortunes of this war have brought on me, and my great desire to see it brought to an end by a peace honourable and advantageous to France have as it were compelled me to write this. Henceforth, however, I shall think of it as little as possible and speak of it still less to the very end of my days. I must henceforth think only of the Lord, [praying] that He may preserve all states and bring them happy fortunes, and especially their rulers, governors and administrators.

"I have the honour to be with the most profound respect,  
My Lord, Your Lordship's most humble and most obedient  
servant

DESENCLAVE—*priest.*

"HONFLEUR, *March 8, 1759.*"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Canadian Archives*, F. 95 : C<sup>11</sup>. I. 95.

XXVI

COPY OF A LETTER FOUND ON THE PLAINS  
OF ABRAHAM AFTER THE BATTLE OF  
SEPTEMBER 13, 1759.

[See vol. ii. p. 108. The original is among the Townshend Papers  
at Raynham.]

*Extract from a copy of a letter signed Beauclaire "à l'isle Pique,  
ce 30e Aoust 1759" and endorsed "This Letter was brought  
to B: General Townshend on ye field of Battle—& was taken  
amongst Monsr. de Senezergues Papers who was Second in  
Command."*

UN prisonnier que les Sauvages de la Presentation amene-  
rent avant hier de Chouaguen dit que les ennemis travaillent a  
force, à retablir ce fort, qu'ils ne songent point a descendre les  
rapides, qu'ils n'ont qu'une quarantaine de Barges. S'il faut  
s'en rapporter aux dernieres nouvelles que nous avons eu de  
chés vous l'ennemi pense à faire sa retraite et ne comptent plus  
sur la jonction de ses deux armées, au moien de cela on peut  
regarder cette campagne comme finie et être assuré de passer  
son hivert en Canada—Est-ce un bien, Est-ce un mal pour  
nous ?

## XXVII

### THE CHIEN D'OR<sup>1</sup>

THERE is an image and inscription of a "chien qui ronge l'os" to be seen at the city of Pézenas, near Montpellier, in southern France, which would seem to be the prototype of the stone at Quebec. An account of its origin is contained in a manuscript history of Pézenas, written in 1733 by a certain Pierre Paul Poncet of that city, of which the original is in the possession of the Mazel family of Pézenas and a copy in the library of Montpellier. The passage regarding the Dog runs thus:

"En venant des Observants, à la descente qui va à la ville, on trouve une porte bâtie depuis la construction de ce Pont (le Pont de l'Observance), sur laquelle est un Chien en relief sur la pierre couché sur ses pattes qui tiennent un os qu'il ronge. On lit au bas 1581 et quatre lettres capitales A.L.R. . . . Le mur du jardin sur lequel est ce chien est fort ancien. Il existait en 1340. Par succession des temps, ce jardin appartint à M. Delbousquet. Après sa mort, il fut vendu à Antoine Boyer, jardinier; puis il passa à son fils Pierre qui m'a expliqué cette inscription.

"M. Delbousquet avait une Métairie près de Saint Siméon le vieux. Il y avait là une superbe orangerie que M. le Connétable (de Montmorency) découvrit du Château de Pézenas. La trouvant de son goût, il la demanda M. Delbousquet qui, par son silence, fit comprendre au Duc qu'il ne voulait pas

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 207. The additional information here given was obtained by the editor, through the kindness of M. Allies and of M. Benjamin Sulte, while the present work was in the press.

s'en défaire. Fâché d'un tel refus, le Duc la fit enlever pendant la nuit. Le lendemain matin, le gentilhomme voyant les vestiges de ce désordre, comprit que c'était l'effet d'un ordre du Connétable. Ne pouvant se venger de ce sanglant affront, il fit sculpter le Chien avec l'inscription dont il donna l'explication par les vers suivants :

Je suis le Chien qui ronge l'os.  
En le rongeant, je prends repos.  
Un temps viendra qui n'est venu  
Que je mordrai qui m'a mordu."

A. P. Allies, in his work on the history of Pézenas entitled *Une Ville d'États : Pézenas aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècles : Molière à Pézenas* (1908), adds the following details :

"... On ajouta que M. Delbousquet réussit à se venger. Un jour le Connétable rentrait en ville dans son carrosse par un chemin creusé, fangeux et peu praticable. Un orage épouvantable le surprit à la tombée de la nuit. Le cocher était impuissant avec ses seuls chevaux à sortir la voiture calée dans les fondrières. La pluie torrentielle, le vent, le tonnerre et les éclairs ajoutaient au péril du moment.

"Vient à passer M. Delbousquet. Montmorency l'arrête et le supplie de le sortir de ce mauvais pas. Alors le gentilhomme campagnard lui répéta les vers gravés au dessous du Chien de pierre et se retira en ricanant. Le Connétable comprit. Il ne répondit rien et fut contraint de passer dans sa voiture, le chemin étant envahi par les eaux de l'Herault débordé, toute une longue nuit, attendant qu'avec le jour on vint le tirer de cette affreuse situation.

"Le chien qui ronge l'os est demeuré jusqu'à ces dernières années sur le mur de la maison des jardins près le pont de l'observance aujourd'hui démoli.

"En 1894, M. Charles Ponsonailhe (un Piscénois, homme de lettres à Paris) le fit transporter à sa campagne de Saint



Julien, dans le lieu même qui fut la cause de son édification. Il se dresse là-bas, près des ruines de l'Orangerie pillée par Montmorency sur un socle de granit orné de verdure et de fleurs. Les ans autant que le jet des pierres des gamins, lorsqu'il était publiquement exposé, ont outrageusement mutilé son museau."

The House of the Golden Dog in Quebec stood on ground purchased in 1734 by the merchant Philibert from the heirs of Timothée Roussel, a surgeon who had come to Quebec before 1667. Roussel had built a stone house on this lot in 1693, and there is good reason to believe that this earlier building, already containing the image of the dog, was merely enlarged by Philibert in 1736. Timothée Roussel was born about 1636 at Mayot, in the diocese of Montpellier, not far from Pézenas. The probability thus becomes obvious of a direct relationship between the Dog of Quebec and that of the city in Southern France.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Doughty and Dionne, *Quebec under Two Flags*, Appendix 14; and P. B. Casgrain, *The House of the Golden Dog*.

## XXVIII

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO AN ENGAGEMENT  
BETWEEN FRENCH AND ENGLISH SHIPS IN  
BAIE DES CHALEURS IN 1760.

[See vol. ii. p. 490. Copies of these documents are to be found in the *Canadian Archives*; the exact reference is added in each case. The original orthography, which in some cases is very peculiar, has been preserved.]

MONTREAL le 9 9<sup>bre</sup> 1759

MONSIEUR,

L'état de la Colonie m'a déterminé à donner ordre à M. le Ch<sup>e</sup> Le Mercier<sup>1</sup> Commandant de l'artillerie de passer en France afin de vous remettre mes depeches. Cet officier possède le detail concernant le Canada. Il a été dans toutes les parties de ce Gouvernement. J'ai crû ne pouvoir faire meilleur choix. Je lui ai fait part de mes projets et s'il peut se rendre en France, Monseigneur, il sera à même de vous parler pertinement de ce Continent, c'est d'ailleurs un officier de réputation zélé et plein de probité.

Comme il se pourroit qu'il fut pris je lui ai donné une permission pour raison de santé afin qu'il puisse métre tout en usage pour obtenir de passer en France et ce rendre près de vous.

Je suis avec un très profond respect,

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

VAUDREUIL.

*Archives des Colonies.*—Canada.—Correspondance, vol. 104, p. 126.

<sup>1</sup> François Lemerrier was born at Caudebec, near Rouen, December 29, 1722, and married, at Ste. Foy, P.Q., November 15, 1757, Françoise Boucher-La Bruyère. (Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, vol. vi. p. 325.) He was appointed lieutenant of the company of gunners and bombardiers in 1750; captain of the same company in 1753, and commandant of the artillery in Canada, March 17, 1757. He was made Chevalier de St. Louis also in 1757. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 229, p. 42.) [The notes on these documents were prepared by Placide Gaudet, M.A.]

A JACQUES CARTIER, le 11 9<sup>bre</sup> 1759

MONSIEUR,

M<sup>r</sup> le marquis de Vaudreuil vous dépeche m<sup>r</sup> le mercier pour vous rendre compte particulièrement de la situation de la Colonie, il ne pouvoit faire un meilleur choix, je l'ay instruit de ma façon de penser, et vous pouvois vous en rapporter a tout ce qu'il vous dira c'est un officier tres instruit, je l'ay mené avec moy dans tous les endroits ou jay été employé, et personne ne peut vous en rendre de meilleurs temoïniages que moy, en mon particulier monsieur je seray très reconnoissant de tout ce que vous voudrois bien faire pour luy, je puis vous assurer que les graces que vous luy accorderois seront bien placees.

Je suis avec respect

Monsieur

Votre très humble et tres obeissant serviteur

LE CH<sup>re</sup> DE LEVIS.*Ibid.*, p. 123.CANADA 10 9<sup>bre</sup> 1759.

MONSIEUR LE CHEVALIER DE LÉVIS.

MONSEIGNEUR

. . . . . La perte de Québec nous ayant mis dans la nécessité de prendre une position en arrière, et d'établir un poste pour assurer la tête de nos quartiers d'hiver, je déterminay Monsieur de Vaudreuil à faire construire un fort à Jacques Cartier; l'armée se replia pour y travailler, Monsieur de Bougainville resta à la pointe aux Trembles, et les gardes avancées sur la rivière du Cap Rouge, dont nos partis vont journellement à la portée du canon de Québec pour harceler les ennemis; leur armée est entièrement rentrée dans cette place où elle travaille à rétablir les maisons pour y loger.

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 855

Monsieur de Vaudreuil a été à Montréal pour être à portée de faire passer des secours à l'Isle aux noix et aux Rapides.

Car si l'une de ces deux parties étoit forcé, la Colonie seroit perdue sans ressources.

Il faut convenir que nous avons été bien malheureux au moment où nous devions espérer voir finir la campagne avec gloire, tout a tourné contre nous, une bataille perdue, une retraite aussi précipitée que honteuse, nous a réduits où nous en sommes pour avoir attaqué trop tôt les ennemis, sans avoir rassemblé toutes les forces qu'il auroit pû avoir. Je dois à sa mémoire pour assurer la droiture de ses intentions, qu'il a cru ne pouvoir faire mieux, mais malheureusement, le général a toujours tort quand il a été battu. Je ferai certainement tous mes efforts, conjointement avec M. de Vaudreuil, pour soutenir cet hyver, le reste de cette malheureuse colonne, en attendant le secours qu'il plaira à Sa Majesté de nous envoyer dans les premiers jours de May. Je compte être bien secondé par M. de Bourlamaque, par les officiers supérieurs et particuliers des troupes, de même que par le courage des soldats, faute de munitions de guerre et de bouche, il nous sera impossible de faire aucune expédition, ni entreprise cet hyver, bienheureux si nous pouvons nous soutenir, nous finirons de manger la plus grande partie ou reste des bœufs et des chevaux. Nous avons à nourrir dans les guerrets 3 à 4 mille personnes, y compris les Sauvages, ce qui achèvera de consommer le peu de vivres qui pourroit rester dans la Colonie.

Je ne doute pas que M. l'Intendant, n'employe son zèle et ses talents pour ménager des subsistances et autres secours pour pouvoir nous soutenir le plus long temps qu'il sera possible. Nous n'avons d'autre ressource pour faire subsister les troupes, que de les faire nourrir par les troupes des Gouvernements de Montréal et des Trois Rivières, celui de Québec ayant été dévasté par les armes, à peine pourra-t-il suffire pour ses troupes et habitants. A l'égard de nos frontières, elles marcheront cet hyver au poste de Jacques Cartier, où il y aura

environ 8 à 900 hommes pour observer la garnison de Québec, à l'isle aux Noix, St Jean ou Chambly, le même nombre au fort qui est à la tête des Rapides 500 hommes nous couteroient trois frégates pour qu'au printemps, nous puissions garder le courant du Richelieu, pour empêcher que les ennemis ne remontent le fleuve, avec leurs berges ou d'autres bâtiments jusqu'aux Trois Rivières et à Montréal. Si le Roi veut soutenir cette glaire [? guerre], elle n'est pas encore sans ressource, et s'il luy plaît d'envoyer au mois de May, un escadre qui devance celle d'Angleterre et qui nous rende maîtres du fleuve, avec 6 à 7 mille hommes de troupes de débarquement, et 4 mille hommes de recrue, pour les bataillons et les troupes de la Colonie, qui sont ici, quoique les ennemis aient laissé toutes leurs troupes qui consistent en 10 bataillons qui peuvent faire environ 6 mille hommes, ayant renvoyé seulement les malades et les blessés, et 3 Compagnies de grenadiers qu'il avoient tiré de Louisbourg, cette place ne tiendra pas 10 jours de siège. Il faudroit aussi un train d'artillerie avec des munitions de toute espèce, du fer, de l'acier, des outils de toute sorte, et 10 mille fusils, la prise du Québec nous ayant dépourvu de toutes choses.

Les troupes que le Roi enverroit de débarquement pour prendre Québec pourroient s'en retourner en France avec l'escadre nos forces seront peu considérables au printemps, les 8 Bataillons ne feront pas plus de 2400 hommes, et les troupes de la Colonie 11 ou 12 cent au plus, S'il ne nous arrive pas de secours, nous ne pourrons compter sur les habitants des Gouvernements de Montréal et des 3 Rivières et encore aurons-nous de la peine à les rassembler.

A l'égard des sauvages nous en aurons 800 au 1000 supposé qu'il nous arrive une escadre, car sans cela nous serons fort heureux s'ils ne sont pas contre nous. Si le Roi ne juge pas devoir de secours, je dois, Monsieur, vous prévenir qu'il ne faut pas compter sur nous à la fin du mois de May, nous serons obligés de nous rendre par disette manquant de tout.

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Il nous restera du courage, sans aucune ressource pour le mettre en usage. Permettez moi aussi de vous représenter que si Sa Majesté ne secoure cette Colonie, il sera bien difficile de la pouvoir soutenir dans les autres guerres. Les sauvages n'auront plus sy confiance aux françois comme les habitants, parce que nous voyons que ceux de Québec ne le sont pas longtemps à l'accoutume au Gouvernement Anglois, à cause de la facilité qu'ils trouveront dans le commerce, Si le Roi n'a pitié de la situation de cette Colonie, il n'y a que la paix qui puisse la rétablir. . . . .

Je suis avec un profond respect, Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

LE CH<sup>re</sup> DE LÉVIS.

*Archives des Colonies.*—Moreau Saint-Méry Collection, vol. 111, p. 300.

1759.

### CAMPAGNE D'AMÉRIQUE.

KANON (JACQUES)

Lieut<sup>de</sup> de frégate

Commande la frégate le Machault.

(CANADA.)

x<sup>b<sup>re</sup></sup> 1759 CANON

MERCIER

COLONIES

M. BIGOT.

Le S. Kanon Lieutenant de frégate Commandant la frégate le Machault qui avoit Conduit à québec, au Commencement de Cette année, les Vivres destinés pour Cette Colonie, est arrivé le 23. de Ce mois à Brest d'ou il S'est rendu ici avec le S. Le Mercier Commandant L'Artillerie en Canada.

Le S. Kanon est parti de la rade de Sillery demie lieue audessus de Québec le 25. 9<sup>b<sup>re</sup></sup> dans la Nuit, il S'est d'abord

Emparé d'une Goelette de 4. Canons que les Anglois avoient envoié a Sa decouverte, et il a fait passer devant lui 4. autres bâtimens françois qui etoient Sous Son Escorte, à 3. heures du matin il etoit Sous Québec d'ou on lui a tiré environ 300. Coups de Canons, il a Continué Sa route Sans rencontrer Aucun batiment Anglois, il en a rançonné un a 150. Lieues du grand banc. On ne peut rien ajouter à la bravoure et à l'Intelligence de Cet officier dont les Chefs de la Colonie font les plus grands Elôges, il offre de Conduire les nouveaux Secours au Canada, quoique Québec Soit au pouvoir des Anglois, pourveu qu'il arrive le premier.

M. De Vaudreuil et M. Delevis qui Commande les troupes en Chef depuis la mort de M. De Montcalm ont Envoté le S. Lemercier pour faire un rapport Exact de l'Etat de la Colonie. Il resulte du Contenu de leurs lettres et du rapport du S. Lemercier.

1<sup>o</sup> Qu'a la fin de la Campagne les françois occupoient toute la partie du Canada du Côté des Lacs Ontario et Erié, à L'Exception de Niagara dont les Anglois Se Sont emparés en retablissant le fort de Chouaguen; Que du Côté du Lac Champlain les Anglois Occupent les postes de St frederic et de Carillon dont ils ont fortifié le premier, les françois ont etabli leur frontiere à l'isle aux noix où ils ont fait de tres bons retranchements; et Que du Côté du Fleuve les Anglois ne possèdent que la Ville de Quebec ou ils Seroient bloqués Sans le défaut de Subsistance dans la Colonie.

2<sup>o</sup> Qu'Il pouvoit rester Environ 4500. hommes de troupes reglées tant de Celles de terre que de la Colonie et environ Douze mille habitans et Savages pour un Coup de main; mais on assure que les habitans du Gouvernement de Quebec Seront désarmés par les Anglois autant qu'ils le pourront.

3<sup>o</sup> Qu'a la fin de la Campagne les Milices Etoient presque toutes licentiées à l'Exception des travailleurs, et que les troupes reglées rentroient en Quartier chez châque habitant pour pouvoir y être nouris, a la reserve de la garnison de

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Jacques Cartier, poste a 9. lieues de Quebec qui fournit une Avant garde a la pointe aux trembles, de Celles de l'Isle aux noix, du fort St Jean, Chambli, du fort Levi et du Detroit, lesquelles peuvent former un Corps d'environ deux mille quatre Cent hommes les Sauvages des lieux Compris.

4<sup>e</sup> Les Secours que l'on demande pour 1760. Consistent en Vivres, Munitions, habillements, Armes, Artillerie et effets de toute l'espece pour les Magasins et les Sauvages dont les Etats Sont Cy Joint, Excepté Ceux de l'artillerie qui ne Sont pas encore dechiffrés, et qu'on peut Evaluer a huit Millions, et Au moins Quatre Mille hommes de troupes: Avec Ces Secours le S. Le Mercier repond de la reprise de Quebec et de la Sureté de la Colonie; Les Vivres qui restent Suffront a peine Jusqu'au mois de May; les Chefs Se plaignent du peu de Secours qu'ils ont reçu Cette année.

5<sup>e</sup> Les depenses faites en Canada pour le Service de 1758 ont monté a Vingt huit millions, M<sup>r</sup> De Vaudreuil Et Bigot assurent qu'elles Seront moindres de beaucoup les Années Suivantes, il a été tiré des lettres de Change a la fin de Celle cy pour environ trente deux millions tant pour Solder les depenses de 1757. Qu'En payement et a Compte de Celles de 1758. et 1759.

M. De Vaudreuil A retenu les quatre fregates du Roy qu'on avoit Expedié de Brest et de Rochefort pour porter les munitions et les Effets pour les Sauvages, et a renvoyé les bâtimens marchands, Ceux qui Sont partis avec le S. Kanon ne Sont pas encore arrivés.

1759 Campagnes D'Amerique.

*Archives de la Marine.*—Série B<sup>4</sup>, vol. 91.—Campagnes 1759—Canada.

l'attitude la  
pie, et ainsi  
commandées  
par vaisseau  
dont la notice a  
été prise a brest  
la pomone la  
biche et la  
autre com  
mandée par  
sauvage la  
biche et  
relacher a la  
l'origine et a  
et renvoyer la  
Louisiane



Le 25 September 1760.

La Nouvelle des 22. Batiments pris dans le fleuve St Laurent est fausse. il n'y a Eut d'expédié d'autre Convoy pour le Canada qui cinq Navires Partis le 10. avril dernier de la Riviere de Bordeaux.

Par la voie D'Espagne, on apprend que deux de ces Batiments escortés par le Corsaire *Machault* ont donné dans la *Baye des chaleurs* ou ils Se Sont Refugiés pour éviter les Ennemis. cette Baye est à plus de deux cent lieues de *Mont Real* deux autres ont été interceptés avant d'entrer dans le fleuve et le Cinqui me a Peri corps et biens, il ne S'en est Sauvé que Seize personne.

Les Anglois ayant tenté d'enlever ces Batiments Relachés, les Commandants en ont débarqué toutes les Munitions de Guerre et de Bouche et ont Brulé eux mêmes leurs vaisseaux, ont formé un Corps de 900. hommes et Reunissant aux troupes de débarquement tous les equipages et les gens de Mer auxquels Se Sont joints 1500 familles Acadiens. ils ont Etabli un petit Camp en etat de tenir Contre les Ennemis qui ont vainement tenté de les y forcer, ils Se flattent pouvoir Se rendre à *Mont Real* aux approches de l'hiver, et profiter de la Rigueur de cette Saison qui ne permettra pas aux anglois de tenir la Campagne d'après ces Nouvelles, il paroist qu'on est assuré de Se Maintenir encore cette année en Canada, et que Si par des Mesures plus Efficaces et mieux prises, on fut parvenu, comme il étoit très possible, à faire passer le Convoy directement à *Mont Real* on eut facilement repris quebec, chassé les ennemis des Postes dont ils Se Sont rendus Maître dans cette partie de l'Amerique Septentrionale.

*Archives de la Marine.*—Série B<sup>4</sup>, vol. 98.—1760.—Campagne d'Amérique

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### JOURNAL DE LA CAMPAGNE DU S. GIRAUDAIS SUR LE N<sup>o</sup> LE MACHAULT

Presy de ce qui cest Passé de Puis mon depart de Bordeaux  
J'usqua mon arrivée à S<sup>t</sup> ander En l'Espagne dans la Campagne  
de 1760. dans la fregatte du Roy le machaux Commande par  
moy françois Chenard Giraudais.

parler a M  
Accaron  
oct. 1760  
N<sup>o</sup> 67.

(Giraudais  
(Fils Chenard)

Le Roy mayant confié le commandement de la ditte fregatte  
armée à Bordeaux de 20. canons de 12<sup>o</sup> de Balle, Et de 8. de  
6<sup>o</sup> Jd. Et 150: hommes d'equipage menue armes à propor-  
tion Pour convoijé 5. Batiment marchand En canada, Scavoir,  
Le Bienfesant Cap<sup>o</sup> grandmon, le marquis de maloze Cap<sup>o</sup>  
larticle, la fidelité Cap<sup>o</sup> Kanon le Jeune, le Soleil Cap<sup>o</sup>  
Clemensaux, Et lorore Cap<sup>o</sup> desmortié, tous 5 Jnsin<sup>1</sup> que moy  
chargé de munition de Guerre Et Bouche pour La ditte  
Colonie avec 400 hommes de troupe dispersé Sur les 5. navire  
Et ma freg. nous Sommes Parties de la rivierre de Bordeaux  
le 10. avril 1760. les vants au N. E. Petit frais à 10. h<sup>es</sup> du  
matin nous Estion dehors de tous les danger de la ditte  
rivierre Tous les 6. Et Plusieurs autres qui Setoient mist Sous  
mon Escorte pour vidé les Cap. J'ay gouverné Jusqu'à la nuit  
le long de la costte darcason Et par Sa Latt. J'ay mist le cap à  
ouest Jnsis que tous les autres Batiment, Et le 1<sup>er</sup> ourant  
J'ay Eu connoissance de plusieurs navire Sous le vent Et au  
vent; les vant au nord gouvernant Pour lors à ouest les Bati-  
ments du vant fesant la manoeuvre de 2. navires Ennemis, Et  
les ayant reconnus pour tel dont un de 56. canons Et Lautre  
de 26. Jd. J'ay fait Signal à ma petite flotte de Sauve qui  
peut ce quils ont fait fesant route depuis le S. o. J'usq le S.E.  
Et moy le cap à O N O. Les vant comme J'ay lay dit au  
nord Et les Enemis dans le nord faisant route Sur nous, mais  
quand Jls mont vüe mestre au plus prest du vant Et carqué

<sup>1</sup> For "ainsi," as elsewhere in the following pages.

mais 2. Basses voiles. Jls mont donné tous deux le Bout Et comme le plus petit Estoit le plus prest de moy J'ay l'ay attendue Jusqu'a porté de canon Et reiglé ma voilure Sur la Sienne ce qui ne metoit Pas difficile ayant la marche Sur Eux deux, J'ay Eu lagrement de les faire me chassé Et me tiré Jusqu'a la nuit Et Sauvé toute La flotte de 2 Batiment dont le plus Petit Estoit aussy fort que moy; le 12. le marquis de Malauze, Se rallia á moy. Et le 17. le Bienfezant, Je n'ay Eu aucune Connoissance des autres, J'ay fait route avec les 2 premiers Sans rencontrer rien, que Le 15<sup>e</sup> de may Estant nord Et Sud des Jles au oyzeaux<sup>1</sup> á l'entré du fleuve Je m'emparé d'un navire anglois qui aloit á quebec Et qui ma print Par des lettres que J'ay trouvé de dans que 5. ou 6. vaisseaux de guerre, Et autant de fregattes angloise mavoit Preventie devant la ditte ville, J'assemblé Sur le champ un conseil ou il fut décidé de faire route Pour la Baye des chaleurs, ce que Je fist, le 16. courant á la vüe de Bonnavanture Je fist 4. Prises desquelles Je m'emparé, Et le 17<sup>e</sup> Etant un peu En dedans des pointes de l'entre de la Baye des chaleurs Je m'emparé d'un autre prise angloise Et Je conduist le tout au Petit Bonnavanture ou J'ay mouillé á la nuit du même Jour, le lendemain Je fist Signal d'apareillé Et Je fut ce jour La avec toute ma Petite flotte 25. a 30. Lieux dans la Baye Et le 19. dud. Jetois Monté á 6 lieux du rapide de Ristigouche,<sup>2</sup> ou Je mouillé Et fist mouiller tous mais navires dans un Endroit fort commode ou J'espédié le S<sup>t</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Simon<sup>3</sup> officier de la Colonie qui avoit Passé avec moy á monsieur vaudreille avec les Paquets dont J'estois Chargé, Et comme J'avois ordre datandre celle de M<sup>r</sup> Vaudreil, Je fist mettre á terre Les troupes Embarquée Sur ma fregatte Et Sur les deux autres navires Composant En Total 200 hommes Jocupay une partie de mon Equipage á construire une Batterie Sur une

<sup>1</sup> See p. 367, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The estuary of the Ristigouche is 2 to 4 miles wide, and extends from Dalhousie to Campbellton, about 16 m. les. The Ristigouche River is a state y stream, which is navigable for 135 miles above Campbellton.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 367, n. 3.

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Pointe qui defendoit le passage Et les autres à de charger une gouellete de nos prises Pour la faire Servir de decouverte, Pendant ce tems Je faisois Eaux, Et Biscuits pour Estre En Etat de sortir au premier ordre de monsieur Vaudreil qui ont extrêmement retardé, la decouverte fut dehors le 12<sup>e</sup> Juin Sous le Commandement du Sieur lavary le Roy un de mes Premier lieut. ou Elle resta J'usquau 22<sup>e</sup> du dit Sans avoir Eû aucunes Connoissance de rien que de quelques gouelette Batteaux Et Esquif cadien qui venoient Journallement ce Joindre à nous avec Beaucoup de famille Cadienne pour avoir du Secour En vivre Estant dans la derniere miserre, le 23 du dit l'Equipage de la decouverte ce Joignit à moy après avoir Esté contrain de Jetté En coste par laproche d'un v<sup>s</sup> de guerre anglois de 74. Canons Et 4 Berges Je fist aussitot mestre 4. de mes canon de 12<sup>ll</sup> Et un de 6 Sur la Bateria, Et coulé des Batiments dans le chenal à <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Porté de Canon de la ditte Bateria le tout Estoit prest la nuit du 26<sup>e</sup> au 27<sup>e</sup> Juin que Japrint l'arrivé de 2. autres vais<sup>s</sup> de guerre Et 2. fregattes. le 27<sup>e</sup> Les 2. fregattes Et le vais<sup>s</sup> de 74 Canons ont montés la rivierre Et mouillé En dehors de cette chesne, la Battery de terre dont J'ay Parlé commandé Par Le Sieur Donat de la Garde.<sup>1</sup> mon cap<sup>ne</sup> En Second à fait feu de Sus Et na discontinué de part Et dautres qu'a l'entré de la nuit que les 2. fregattes ce sont retirées dans le faux chenal du Sud. Javais meditté de restér avec ma fregatte Pour Soutenir la Batterie mais la force de l'Ennemis Estant trop Superieure maurais Empeché de rejoindre tous les Batiments que Javais fait monter du momant des nouvelle du premier vais<sup>s</sup> de guerre pour Salegir Jnsin que moy qui le faisoit dans l'intervalle En mettant à terre le plus quil nous Estoit Possible des Effest du Roy, Je les Joigné le 28<sup>e</sup>;

La Batterie à Soutenüe Jusquau 3. Juillet avec toute la Bravoure possible Et à Esté contrain à la fin de crever cest

<sup>1</sup> Pointe à la Garde, 9 miles above Dalhousie, on the north shore, was named after him. It is a bold perpendicular promontory overlooking the harbour

canon, le vais<sup>s</sup> de 74. canons ayant passé Sa direction par le feaux chenal du Sud la dominant En outre par La Superiorité de Son artillerie ;

Le 4<sup>e</sup> Jd. les 2. fregattes ont travaillés à ce faire un Passage En Soulagent quelques des Batimant Coullé Et il En Sont venus à Bout le 6. courant Le 7. Jls ont montées à la porté d'une Bateria de 3. canons de 4<sup>n</sup> commandé par le Sieur Gilbert un de mes lieut. que Javais fait Etablir à la coste du Sud Pour Empecher une gouellette de venir sondé le chenal, Elle la Effectivement Empeché Jusqua que les 2. f<sup>tes</sup> les ont contrain de labandonner apres avoir fait tout ce qu'on Peut atandre de Brave gens ;

Le 8<sup>e</sup> à 5 h<sup>res</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$  du matin Elle mont aproché à la demy Portté de canon Elle mauroient aprochés plus prest Sans une Seconde chesne de navire que Javais fait couller En dehors de moy Et d'une Batterie que J'avois fait Etablir à La coste du nord de 3. de mes canon de 12<sup>n</sup> et de 2. de 6<sup>n</sup> du marquis de malauze, cette Batterie Estoit commandé par le Sieur Reboul mon p<sup>r</sup> Lieut. tout cela retardoit la Proche de lennemy Et me donnoit du tems pour mettre des Effets du Roy à terre ;

Les deux fregattes Estoit une de 36. canon, 26. de 12<sup>n</sup> Et 10. de 6<sup>n</sup> Son Equipage Et du ranfor des 3 v<sup>s</sup> de guerre, l'autre de 26 .Canon de 9<sup>n</sup> En Batterie Son Equipage complete, une Gouellette de 4. Canon de 6<sup>n</sup> Et 17. Berges de 25. à 30. hommes d'Equipage Chasques ; Et moy Javais à oposer à des forces aussy Superieures 13. Canon de 12<sup>n</sup> Et un de 6<sup>n</sup> dont 10. du costé de Babord presanté aux Ennemis Et 3. à tribord au cas que leurs Berges Ussent voulus venir pendant le Combat nous aborder de ce costé la, Javois de mon Equipage pour lors 70. hommes. les autres Estant Employé Pendant ce tems la à haller tous les petist Battimant chargé des Effets du Roy à porté de mousqueterie de terre ou nous avions fait un depost à la hâtte En outre celui qui Estoit hor d'insulte Et une autre Partie Estant Employé à la Batterie du Sieur Reboul

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qui à fait tout ce qu'on Peut faire, Javais aussy à Bord 45. Soldats Sous les ordres de monsieur Jangac, Je n'emparleré point ils Sont connus Pour de Braves gens, ce nest pas à moy d'En faire de Loge, cest avec cest forces la que nous avons Commencé le combat Entre 5. Et 6. heures du matin Et tenté Jusqua 11. heures ou apres avoir perdüe 30. hommes, 8 Pieds d'Eaux dans la Calle et avoir coullé la grande fregatte angloise qui ne ce seroit Jamais relevé dou Elle Estoit Sans le peu d'Eau qu'elle avoit Sous Elle quil la facilitoit de reprendre cest coups quelle avoit à L'Eau, nous avons Esté contrain de mettre le feu dans la fregatte; le Bienfesant En à fait autant, Et le marquis de malauze lauroit fait aussy Sans les prisonniers anglois qui Se trouvoit à Bord que nous navons pas voulus sacrifier à la fureur des Sauvages, Sitot nos Batimants brulées Jls ont Expediées la Gouellette Et les 17. Berges pour venir prendre Et Brullé tous les Petist Batimants chargés des Effets du Roy, ce qui nous à mist dans le cas de Mettre le feux nous mêmes à tous ceux qui Estoient hors de portées de fusil de Terre Et nous avons defandus tous les autres Jusqua 11 h<sup>re</sup> du Soir quil ont Esté contrain de ce retirer aprest avoir tiré leurs Prisonniers du maloze Et y à avoir mist le feux cest la Seulle chose quil ont fait avec 3. v<sup>rs</sup> de Guerre Et 2. f<sup>tes</sup> pendant 17. Jours Et sans ozé desandre à terre lespace de 6. Lieu de teren Jl Est Extremement flatteur pour moy d avoir Eüe Sous mes ordres d'aussy Braves Jens comme J'en avoient;

Le 9<sup>e</sup>. courant les deux fregattes ont desendus Et rejoint les V<sup>rs</sup> de Guerre Et Le 17<sup>e</sup>. Jls ont tous Evaquée la rivierre, le même Jour le S<sup>t</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Simon Est venüe du montreal En 13. Jours, Jl ma aporté un ordre de M<sup>r</sup> Vaudreil pour partir dans ma fregatte, Et porté cest paquets Jusq'au premier port de france allié ou neustre Et comme Elle Estoit Brullé, J'ay fait travailler à une gouellete Cadienne qui ce trouvoit la Et le mise En Etat de Sortir le 10<sup>e</sup>. aoust nous Estions nord Et Sud de Bonnaventure, Et le 3<sup>e</sup>. 7<sup>bre</sup> J'ay mouillé à S<sup>t</sup> ander aprest

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avoir Eu 11 h<sup>re</sup> de chasses au detroit de belille Et En 13 Jours  
Estant ventüe d'une terre à l'autre ;

Giraudais B<sup>us</sup>  
octobre 1760

Detail de Sa Campagne  
Sur le Machault

Lieut<sup>e</sup> de f<sup>te</sup> 1760.

*Archives de la Marine.*—Série B<sup>1</sup>.—Vol. 98.—1760.—Campagne d'Amérique.

1760

RELATIONS DEPUIS NOTRE DEPART DE ROYANT JUSQU'AU  
JOUR DE NÔTRE COMBAT AVEC LES ANGLAIS LE HUIT  
JUILLET MIL SEPT CENT SOIXANTE :

Nous Sortime Le dix avril de la riviere avec un Vent favorable petit vent qui nous continuat toute la nuit le Lendemie onze environ dix heures nous Ume Connoissance de deux Vaisseaux que nous reconument pour Ennemie après quils nous Eument aproché l'un fut reconnû pour un Vaisseaux de cinquante Canons et l'autre de trente Six pour l'ors le Sieur La Giraudais fit Signal de Sauvequi peut à la flotte et pris chasse faisant toujours Sa même route les ennemis nous chasserent pendant deux heures et demie La fregatte nous áprochat à bonne portée de Canon pour l'ors nous forsame de voilles S'est deux vaisseaux Sapercurent que nous avions L'avantage de la marche Sur Eux pour l'ors le gros vaisseaux revira debord la fregatte en fit autempt après Nous avoir tiré Sa bordé nous lui rispostame de quelque coup de la Nôtre et nous Continuame Notre route ;

Le douze au matin nous rencontrame Le Marquis de Malose nous fime route ensemble jusqu'au dix Neuf que nous apersume avant et Sou le vent a nous deux Voilles nous courume Sur celle qui étoit Souvant à Nous la joignime et la

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 367

reconume pour une prise d'un corsaire de bayonne qui fit route pour france le Vaisseaux qui étoit avent a nous nous àprochat et Nous le reconume par nos Signaux de reconnoissance pour le bienfaisant Nous fime Notre route et depuis Sejour nous N'avons fait aucune rencontre jusqu'au quatorze may entre Lisle aux Oiseaux<sup>1</sup> et entre Costie<sup>2</sup> d'un bateau Anglais a qui nous doname chasse que nous joignime que nous àmariname qui nous apris que L'escadre anglaise Etoit dans La riviere depuis Six jours Nous etions prés pour l'ors de donner dans La riviere on tin Conseil de guerre ou il fut décidé que l'on méteroit dans L'abbaye de chaleure nous y donname le Lendemain quinze nous trouvame à Son ouvert cinq bateaux et golette anglaise que nous àmariname et que Nous Conduisime a l'entrée de la riviere de Ristigouche ou nous mouillame Le dix Sept mon premier Soin après avoir Expedie M<sup>r</sup> de Saint Simeon<sup>3</sup> pour porter Les paquets à Montréal fut de travaillé à Etablir un camp pour rafraîchir Nos troupes et Nos Equipages faire faire des fours pour faire du pain restant tres peut de Biscuit à bord des Navirre :

J'ai trouvé dans ce Sejour de Misere plus de mille cinq cents ame Extenué de Nanisions et mourant de faim ayant été obligé de mangè des pax de Castore pendant tout l'hiver a qui Je fait donner une demie Livres de farine par jour et un Cartron de Bœuf en àtendant Les ordres de Monsieur Le Marquis de Vaudreuil ce petit Secours les à tiré des portes de la mort ce que je Continué jusqu'a ce jour :

<sup>1</sup> Ile-aux-Oiseaux (Birds' Island). The most northerly of the Magdalen island group, about 48° N. lat., lying slightly east of I. Brion, between that island and Pointe Riche in Newfoundland.

<sup>2</sup> The island of Anticosti lies in the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, and is 118 miles long and 31 miles wide.

<sup>3</sup> Antoine-Charles de St. Simon, born at Quebec, November 4, 1734, was son of Charles Paul Denis, sieur de St. Simon, Provost Marshal at Quebec. He was appointed second ensign in 1757, and ensign with full pay in 1759. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 229, p. 100.) He was buried on June 5, 1785, at Léogane, Haiti. (Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, vol. iii. p. 343.)



DETAIL DEPUIS L'ARIVÉ DES VAISSEAUX ANGLAIS DANS  
LA RIVIERE DE RISTIGOUCHE JUSQUE AU JOUR DU  
COMBAT.

Le Vingt deux Juin au matin l'on nous raporta avoir Vû un Vaisseau de force par le travert de l'isle à heront<sup>1</sup> Le deux une Goillette que Nous tenions pour decouverte aux ditte Jsle Commendé par le Sieur LeRoi fut attaquée par plusieurs berges il fut obligé d'abandonné Laditte Goillette et Se rendy avec Son Equipage à bord du Machault dont il etoit L'eutenant.

Le vingt-quatre nous hume Connoissance de deux autres vaisseaux qui Etoient en dedans des isle, le vingt Sept nous une pareille Connoissance de deux autres Vaisseaux ce qui fit prendre Le party à M<sup>r</sup> Lagiraudais de remonter la riviere le plus haut quil Seroit possible et de travailler à faire decharger les vivres et autres effets tant de Son Vaisseau que des deux autres qui etoient Sous Ses ordres il ne pris Se partis qu'apres avoir fait Couler plusieurs batiments pour boucher le chenal cette chesne etoit Soutenûe par une batterie de quatre pieces de Canon de douze et deux de Six elle à Soutenus tant quil n'y à eu que les deux fregate qui L'on Canonée mais le vaisseaux de Soixante quatorze Canons la prenant en flanc elle ne puis Soutenir etants à barbette apres avoir fait Crevé les Canons elle fut abandonnée Monsieur de la Valliere<sup>2</sup> Capitaine etant

<sup>1</sup> Ile-aux-Harengs (now Heron Island). A small island at the head of Baie-des-Chaleurs, lying directly south of Tracadigash Bay.

<sup>2</sup> Louis LeNeuf, sieur de la Vallière, a native of Plaisance, and son of Michel LeNeuf, sieur de la Vallière, and of Renée Bertrand, married Marie Charlotte Rousseau de Souvigny, at Louisbourg, September 20, 1739. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 179 C., p. 113.) He was appointed lieutenant, May 1, 1743, and captain, April 15, 1750, and made Chevalier de St. Louis in 1756. On May 1, 1764, he was appointed commandant major of the national troops in Guiana. (*Ibid.*, F. 229, p. 122.)

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avec Soixante hommes De troupes pour la Soutenir en cas de desente et environ cent Cadiens et quelque Sauvages;

après cet Evenement nous n'avons cherchée qu'a retardé Laproche de l'ennemie pour avoir Le temps de mètre au moins nos vivres à terre; pour cette effets nous avons etablie deux bateries L'une Sur une pointe au Sud et l'autre Sur celle du Nord qui fesoient un feux Croisée celle du Sud étant gardé par des officiers du Machault bienfaisant et Marquis de Maloze quelqu'un de leur Equipage des Cadiens et des Sauvages elle à fait abandoné deux fois une goillette qui les canonée avec du canon de Six.

Celle du nord etoit garnis de trois Canons de Douze et de deux de Six Servie par le Sieur Reboulle Soutenue par trente hommes de nos troupes Commendé par Monsieur Dubois-berthelot<sup>1</sup> il est certain que S'est deux batteries ont fait tout ce que l'on peut faire au monde; celle du Sud devenu unitille une foÿ Le vaisseaux prêt de nous elle n'avoit que du Canon de quatre; Celle du Nord n'a cessée Son feux que quand Le vaisseaux Se Sont retiré elle nous reste toutes les deux ainsi que leurs Canons; Le Machault Etant aporté de la Soutenir étant enbossé au millieux du chenal presentant babord à Lennemie des le momant que nous avons pris le party de mettre les vivres à terre J'envoyé Monsieur Dupont Duvivier<sup>2</sup> avec Son piquet au dépeaux des vivres cet offier S'est fort bien Comporté et présenté quand les berges Sont Venûes pour S'emparer des batteaux Et Goillettes et Esquiffe qui etoient

<sup>1</sup> Boisberthelot was appointed second ensign, January 1, 1747; ensign with full pay, April 15, 1750; lieutenant, April 1, 1754, and on May 1, 1764, captain in the national troops in Guiana. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 229, p. 135.)

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Dupont, chevalier DuVivier, son of François Dupont DuVivier and Marie Mius-d'Entremont, was born at Port Royal, Acadie, November 12, 1707 (*Canadian Archives*, M. 69, p. 11), and married, at Louisbourg, October 24, 1750, Marie Joseph LeBorgne de Bellisle. (*Ibid.*, F. 179 E., p. 318.) He was appointed ensign with full pay, April 1, 1738; lieutenant, January 1, 1747, and captain, April 15, 1750. He was made Chevalier de St. Louis in 1760. (*Ibid.*, F. 129, p. 122.) He died in crossing the ocean, returning from Baie-des-Chaleurs, October 24, 1760, according to Bazagier's letter of December 4, 1760. See p. 390.

encore chargées il obligéa L'ennemie de Se retirer Sa troupes étoit Renforcée une partie des Equipage et plusieurs brave Cadiens;

Nous nous étions débarqué des prisonniers que nous avions à bord du Machault en les envoyant à bord du Marquis de Maloze avec un détachement de vingt cinq hommes et un Sergent et un Sergent de Confiance pour leur garde;

Le huit Juillet à quatre heures du Matin une fregatte de trente deux Canons nommée la Et, pôté en  
blanc et une de vingt deux nommé . . . . . Se rendirent à nous à demie portée de canons je dit à nous n'ayant jamais abandonné Le Machault que quand il a été desidé quil le falloit brulé;

Le Combat Commencat environt les cinq heures le feux fut tres Viffe pendant deux heures au bout duguel temps on vint nous dire quil n'y avoit plus de poudre n'y Gargouses dans le Moment Monsieur de lagiraudais envoya Sa chaloupe en chercher dans un batteaux dans lequel Nous les avions déposée; Je ne Scay à quoy àtribuer pourquoy il ne nous en parvin pas Se ne peut être que par terreure de la part du patron de Canotte Je doit le penser car nous avons trouvé les poudre dont il étoit chargé.

Monsieur Lagiraudais vint me dire quil y avoit plus de quoi faire feux et que nous avions Sept pieds d'Eaux dans La calle Je lui repondis que je lui avois dit que je ne quitteroit le Machault que quand il decideroit quil faudroit Le Bruller Monsieur D'orfontaine<sup>1</sup> Capitaine Etoit avec moy à bord et le Sieur Loppinot<sup>2</sup> mon aide Major qui est blessé d'un boulet à

<sup>1</sup> Michel Rousseau, sieur d'Orfontaine, son of Gabriel Rousseau, sieur de Villejouin and Marie Josephte Bertrand, was appointed second ensign to the troops of Ile Royale, April 1, 1741; ensign with full pay, January 1, 1747; lieutenant, March 1, 1749; captain, April 15, 1750; and on May 1, 1764, captain of the national troops in Guiana. He was made Chevalier de St. Louis in 1760. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 229, p. 124.) At Port La Joye, May 4, 1757, he married Angélique LeNeuf de la Vallière, his first cousin. (*Ibid.*, F. 179<sup>M</sup>, p. 286.)

<sup>2</sup> Nicolas Loppinot was appointed second ensign, April 15, 1750; ensign with full pay, April 1, 1754; lieutenant, March 15, 1756. He was regimental

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la jambe; droite que je crain fort de perdre Sa blessure étant fort Considerable;

Nous avons deux jambes Coupée dans nos Soldats deux blessé a la main et cinq de tué et plusieurs matelots Le Sieur Reboulle premier Lieutenant du Machault à aussi été blessé d'une Contusion à la jambe;

Nous avons été obligé de vacquere le Machault d'en retirer nos blessé et après d'y mètre Le feu. Nôtre retraite S'est faite avec toute L'ordre possible ayant pendant une partie du chemin les boulets à nos trousses; Le bienfaisant fait aussi brullé le Marquis de Malose c'est Evaquée ne convenant pas d'y mètre Le feu ayant Les prisonniers à Son bord les anglais les ont Retiré y ayant mis Le feu Linsendie de S'est Vaisseaux nous Causent bien des pertes malgré La diligence que l'on a porté pour leur dechargem<sup>t</sup> nous avons perdûs beaucoup l'on Sauve tous les jours des Carcasse;

L'ennemie a trouvé du feu pendant cinq Lieux tant au Nord qu'au Sud et je puis Vous assurer qu'ils n'ont pas osé mètre à terre dans cette distance et qu'il n'ont pas un homme à Nous Le Seul avantage qu'une Escadre de cinq Vaisseaux Composé d'un de Soixante quatorze, un de Soixante dix, un de Soixante quatre un de trente deux un de Vingt deux rem-

adjutant at Ristigouche, where he died from his wounds, July 26, 1760. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 229, p. 136, and M. 73, p. 28.) Here follows his certificate of burial:—

"L'an mil sept cent soixante le vingt-sixième du mois de juillet, a été inhumé par moi prestre recolect aumonier des troupes de la marine, Nicolas Loppino officier major des susdits troupes, décédé du même jour, dans le cimetierre du camp des Reserves en presence de Messieurs dangeac, d'orfontaine, de la valiere, devannes, de pommerois, de villedonné après avoir été, avec la plus grande édification munie de tous ses derniers sacrements en fois de quois j'ais signe avec les temoins.

S. Nicolas  
Loppino

père Ambroise

Rousseau de D'orfontaine,

Potier de Pommeroy,

Villedonné, Le chev. duvivier de Vannes, Dangeac, Delavalliere  
f. etienne. P. R."

*Canadian Archives*, M. 73, p. 28.)

porte C'est de Nous avoir Contraint de Brulé nos Vaisseaux  
Si elle en a brulé un C'est par Commiseration pour leurs  
prisonniers;

Je ne puis m'enpeché de rendre Justice à la valeur de nos  
officiers et Soldats puis qu'a ceux du Machault qui ont com-  
battû Sous mes yeux ceux des deux autres Vaisseaux qui Se  
Sont trouvé Sur les batteries ont tout bien fait Je né que du  
bien à dire de tou. Le monde; apres L'occasion nous Nous  
Sommes disposés à Nous Mètre a labris d'insulte et à Mètre  
Les vivres à Couverts car Nous somme dans un bois debout;

Deux deserteur de leur bord qui ont deserté ont assuré  
que la grande fregatte Etoit fort mal traitée et quils ont  
perdûs beaucoup de monde c'est deux hommes Sont Suspecque,  
ils Sont Soldat du Canada;

Le Machault n'avoit à bord partant de Bordeaux que onze  
Cents coup de Canons et ayant été obligé d'en fournir Sur les  
batteries le jour du combat il ne S'est trouvé que quatre cents  
cinquante à bord Si Les Munitions Nous ont Manqué c'est  
Là faute de L'armateur JI ne Sais qui JI est Nous devons ce  
que Nous avons à terre aux batteries que Nous Etablie ayant  
retardé La jonctions de L'ennemie de onze Jours avec Nous;  
et avec le Secours de Nos batiments Coulés; au camp de  
Ristigouche Le cinq Aoust Mil Sept cent Soixante.

D'ANGEAC.

*Archives de la Marine.*—Série B<sup>1</sup>, vol. 98.—1760.—Campagne d'Amérique.

<sup>1</sup> Gabriel François d'Angeac was the son of Gabriel d'Angeac, captain of a company of the Marines at Louisbourg. There, on December 31, 1735, he married Geneviève Le Fèvre. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 179 B., p. 473.) He was appointed second ensign at Ile Royale, May 1, 1723; ensign with full pay, May 8, 1730; lieutena. June 26, 1732 (*ibid.*, F. 284, p. 12); captain, January 1, 1747; Chevalier de St. Louis, 1754 (*ibid.*, F. 229, p. 121), and Governor of St. Pierre and Miquelon, February 23, 1763.

1, 2

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## 1

## CANONNIERS.

Jean Lacroix dit Larose.

Louis Rossignol dit rossignol.

## SOLDATS.

P<sup>re</sup> Labarte d. Languedoc.Jean B<sup>re</sup> Laforest dit Lesage.

André Rorigue d. Rodrigue.

Joseph Le Sere d. Toulouze.

Nicolas Brochet dit visensoin.

Paul Magenty d. Lafleur.

henry le vasseur d. Belhumeur.

Jacques Monarie d. Sans façon.

Jacques Rousselot d. Jolicœur.

Etienne Berthelemy dit LaRose

Jean Dandy d. Lacouture.

Antoine Gerard d. Laverdure.

Sebastien le Comte d. l'Eveillé.

François Lucouet d. Lafentaisie.

François Labardin d. Valantin.

Pierre Paillet dit Lafrance.

Pierre David dit Laperle.

P<sup>re</sup> Gorelle d. brindamour.Ant<sup>re</sup> Adrien LeLon d. Laramée.

Jean Goucée d. Couturin.

P<sup>re</sup> Simon d. Vatau.

Antoine Alary d. LaGiroflée.

Ant<sup>re</sup> Benard d. Lafortune.

Jean Siloin d. Lafaveur.

Jacques Mothet d. Tranchemontagne.

Jean Martos dit LaRigueur.

Claude Bourgenau d. Sans cartier.

Michel Michet d. LaRose.

Jacob Estingue d. Le Suisse.

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Jean LeBlanc d. Laplaine.  
 P<sup>re</sup> formier d. Belamy.  
 Guillaume Geraux d. Bellerose.  
 Marc Lacomme d. Jolicœur  
 Jacques Bertier d. Bertier.  
 Jean P<sup>re</sup> Dacémard d. Laviolette  
 Joseph frances d. Mastrig  
 Jacques Ant<sup>e</sup> Ranché d. Ranché.  
 Vincent Bertaud d. Clery.  
 P<sup>re</sup> Dubois d. Dubois  
 Philipès Prudhôme d. Prudhôme.

Total  
 2. officiers  
 49. soldats

51.

1<sup>re</sup> Comp<sup>te</sup> ou piquet

## OFFICIERS

M<sup>re</sup> . . { Dupont Duvivier Cap<sup>te</sup> 1  
 de Vildenay Lieutenant 2

## SERGENIS

Louis Orlin d. Jolicœur une jambe emportée  
 Manuel Gourman d. Brunet.

## CAPORAUX.

F<sup>ois</sup> foy d. St Denis.  
 F<sup>ois</sup> Savin d. Leonord.  
 Germain Poignet d. LaTulipe

## CANONNIERS.

Fran ois Giraud d. Giraud.  
 Mathurin Picard d. Mathurin.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 369, n. 2

<sup>2</sup> Villedonné was appointed lieutenant, March 15, 1735, and on May 1, 1764, he received a pension of 400 livres. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 229, p. 139.)



TAMBOURS.

Mathurin Guénigaud d. Le Sombre.  
Robert Emonet d. S<sup>t</sup> Lambert.

SOLDATS.

François Offerion d. LaNoix.  
François Jourdain d. Languedoc.  
P<sup>re</sup> Maule dit Larose.  
Louis Colconac d. Lapel.  
F<sup>ois</sup> LePomier d. Lafrance.  
Jacques Josse d. Jolicœur.  
Nicolas horlut d. Dubuisson.  
F<sup>ois</sup> Gomel d. S<sup>t</sup> Martin.  
Jean Dufleau d. Brindamour.  
P<sup>re</sup> Blain d. Vadeboncœur.  
Louis Planchon d. Prêtarire.  
Michel Renard d. Laflotte.  
François Denizet d. Laviolette.  
Louis Saillard dit Maubeuge.  
Jean Chausselard d. Bonnevolonté.  
P<sup>re</sup> Louis Machat de Pampadour d. Pampadour.  
F<sup>ois</sup> Margret d. Jolibois.  
Jean Detrau d. Jolicœur.  
André Chapron dit la Liberté.  
Jozeph Girouin d. S<sup>t</sup> Jozeph.  
Michel hubert d. La Perle.  
P<sup>re</sup> Berau d. l'aigle.  
Jean hortier d. LaLouëtte.  
Arnaud Boudriau d. Brisebarriere.  
P<sup>re</sup> Orliac d. lavolonté.  
P<sup>re</sup> Blanchard d. Sanschagrin.  
F<sup>ois</sup> Piot d. laRoche.  
P<sup>re</sup> Chevalier d. Dupuis.

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P<sup>re</sup> Jullien d. Jolibois.  
Balthazard peraisse d. Saragoce.  
Jean B<sup>re</sup> foyer d. foyer.  
Jacques Bernier d. Lafleur.  
René Beins d. laRoze.  
Michel favard dit Sansraison.  
Ant<sup>e</sup> Melisset d. Prêtaboire.  
Jean Pinaud d. Blezois.

2. off <sup>rs</sup>	<i>Piquet ou 2<sup>e</sup> Comp<sup>te</sup> de M. Delavaliere<sup>1</sup> repassé</i>
45. soldats	<i>en France Sur la goëlette commandée par le S<sup>r</sup></i>
Total 47.	<i>la Giraudais.</i>

OFFICIER.

M<sup>r</sup> . . de Pommeroy<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant Faisant fonction de  
Major a la place de M. de Lopinaud  
mort apres le Combat, de ses blessures.

SERGEANTS.

Gabriel Bayle dit Sansprendre.  
Charles Cornu d. Brindamour.

CAPORAUX.

Jean Prée dit Laforge.  
Ant<sup>e</sup> Lafontaine d. Lafontaine.  
Nicolas Gabriel Anier d. Lavictoire.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 368, 1. 2.

<sup>2</sup> René Gédéon Potier, sieur de Pommeroy, was son of Guillaume Potier, sieur de Pommeroy, and Jeanne Philippe de Catalogne. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 179<sup>M</sup>, p. 297.) He was appointed second ensign, March 1, 1749; ensign with full pay, April 15, 1750; lieutenant, April, 1755; and, on May 1, 1764, captain of the national troops in Guiana. On November 14, 1757, at Port La Joye, St. John Island, he married Marguerite Dailleboust de St-Villemé. (*Ibid.*, F. 179<sup>M</sup>, p. 297.) See reference to Madame Pommeroy, vol. i. p. 402.

CANONNIERS.

Guillaume Pinsot d. Lafaveur.  
 Germain Renis d. Lagrenade.  
 An<sup>e</sup> Delpée d. Delpée.

TAMBOURS.

Nicolas Bernard d. brindamour.  
 Ant<sup>e</sup> Cavillac d. Belle Etoile.

SOLDATS.

Antoine Ducours d. Poitevin.  
 Nicolas Morau d. S<sup>t</sup> Germain.  
 Michel LeLievre d. LeLievre.  
 Jean Jacques Desroches d. Laprairie.  
 Claude Ravaud d. Sans regret.  
 Pr<sup>e</sup> Gilet d. La Bouteille.  
 Pr<sup>e</sup> Camus d. Camus.  
 Jean Martineau d. Larsenac.  
 Jean Gouaze d. Sansoucy.  
 Jean De Genne d. Verdun.  
 Jozeph Perot d. Lapleur.  
 Martin Ser d. S<sup>t</sup> Martin.  
 Jean Bourdole d. La Montaigne.  
 Louis Bourguignon d. Lagrenade.  
 Claude Aineaux d. francœur.  
 Claude Verset d. verset.  
 Michel Lorette d. Lorette.  
 Augustin Suisse dit Laramée.  
 Nicolas Bouche d. Baguette.  
 Pr<sup>e</sup> Boite d. Sansoucy.  
 Ant<sup>e</sup> Derache d. LaLiberté.

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Guillaume Roussel d. Roussel.  
 Benoist Collon d. fleur d'orange.  
 Ant<sup>e</sup> Glatar d. Bourguignon.  
 Louis Mesmé d. La Giraudiere.  
 François Dée d. fend l'event.  
 Ant<sup>e</sup> Guilber d. S<sup>t</sup> françois.  
 P<sup>re</sup> Bouton d. Fontenay.  
 François Labarre d. Oleron.  
 Claude Laurin d. Laurin.  
 Nicolas Report d. Brindamour.  
 P<sup>re</sup> Collon d. Sans chagrin.  
 Julien Sevée d. Julien.  
 Jean Rectos d. Baubassin.  
 Ant<sup>e</sup> Gendros d. S<sup>t</sup> Come.  
 Etienne Aché d. Aché ou S<sup>t</sup> Etienne.  
 Jean Pouche de Pignerolle.  
 Jean B<sup>te</sup> l'homme-Dieu d. Brûlevillage.  
 Jean Maris Caboul d. Lamusique.  
 Jozeph Mousel d. LaLancette.  
 Barthelemy Bremond d. Sans quartier.  
 François Lovignon d. La Liberté.  
 Denis Fouquet d. Bellerose.  
 Daniel Richard d. LaRoze.  
 Jacques Torvarin d. Sans regret.  
 Jacques Genty d. Genty.

deserté de l'Escadre  
 anglaise ici 4. jours  
 après l'affaire il fut  
 pris a Lajeune Lorette  
 10. jours après Qué-  
 bec etant Cavalier de  
 la Rochebeaucouret  
 tiré de la Comp<sup>ie</sup> de  
 Lacorne l'ainé.

Jean Lecomte d. Bijoy.  
 Jozeph Sallet d. Languedoc.

Embroise Legay d. Lagrenade.

deserté comme l'autre et fut  
 pris a charlebourg 12. a 15  
 jours après Quebec; il estoit  
 volontaire de Repentigny et  
 du poste de S<sup>t</sup> Augustin, il  
 est marié a une Simard V<sup>e</sup>  
 Tremblay de La Baye S<sup>t</sup> Paul,  
 et sa Compagnie est cette de  
 Boishebert.

Total  
 offi<sup>r</sup> 1.  
 soldats 59.  
 60.

4<sup>e</sup> Comp<sup>te</sup> ou piquet.

M<sup>re</sup> . . { Dorfontaine Cap<sup>te</sup> <sup>1</sup>  
(du Boishbertelot Lieutenant.<sup>2</sup>

SERGEANTS.

Nicolas Stable d. Stable.  
Jozeph Reffée d. Blondin.

CAPORAUX.

Ant<sup>e</sup> Fautrier d. Levy.  
Charles Thubert d. Thubert.  
Jean Arsent d. Lafeuillade.

CANONNIERS.

Ant<sup>e</sup> Grary d. Vulquin. la jambe emportée.  
Jean B<sup>e</sup> Dardy d. Moustache.

TAMBOURS.

Jean B<sup>e</sup> Golzard d. Golzard.  
Jozeph Côte d. fleur d'Epine.

SOLDATS.

Jean B<sup>e</sup> Seré d. Valenciennes.  
Jean Claude Thevenin d. Livernois.  
Ant<sup>e</sup> Penot d. Marné.  
André Boisseaux d. Boisseaux.  
Jacques henequel d. Larose.  
Nicolas Geoffroy d. La Tulipe.  
Ant<sup>e</sup> halard d. Dupuis.  
François LaNoce d. Lavigueur.  
Etienne Poisson d. La Tendresse.  
Jean Jozeph Ant<sup>e</sup> defée d. Lajeunesse.  
Jean havard d. Lapipe.  
François Touché d. Dubreuil.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 376 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 369, n. 1.

# ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 381

Jean Parlaud d. Jolibois.  
 Jacques hardy d. belhumeur.  
 Jean B<sup>te</sup> Coché d. Lafeuillade.  
 Jean Dormois d. francœur.  
 François Suire d. Printems.  
 Louis faroux d. dubuisson.  
 Jean françois filliette d. Bourguignon.  
 Charles Picher d. Bellegarde.  
 Jean Martin d. La Riviere.  
 Jacques Espard d. S<sup>t</sup> Jacques.  
 Gabriel Barthelemy Ostande d. Ostande.  
 Jean Coujine d. Langenois.  
 François Mercier d. Luxembourg.  
 Jacques Paris d. Ladouceur.  
 Jean Daniel d. Loramée.  
 Martin Louis Triboulé d. S<sup>t</sup> Louis.  
 Louis Jacques Gaze d. l'Eveillé.  
 Laurent Boucher d. Chamerry.  
 Nicolas LeMere d. Laviolette.  
 Jacques Robin d. LaLime.  
 Jean B<sup>te</sup> Lameline d. Lapensée.  
 Michel Morel d. Marchaterre.  
 Philipis Dape d. S<sup>t</sup> Phelipes.  
 Louis Curé d. Lorageux.  
 Philipes Gazeton d. Lamour.  
 Antoine Gaubin d. frape dabord.

off<sup>r</sup> 2.  
 Soldats 47.

Total 49.

## SOMMAIRE.

	off <sup>r</sup>	Soldats
1 <sup>re</sup> Compagnie	2.	49.
2 <sup>e</sup>	1.	59.
3.	2.	45.
4.	2.	47.
	7.	200.

### 382 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

Nous Ecrivain de la Marine faisant fonction de Comm<sup>re</sup> en ce poste Certifions avoir fait la Revuë de la Troupe ci-devant a l'Isle Royal et denommée au présent Rolle, suivant les ordres de Monsieur l'Intendant. M<sup>r</sup> de St Simon off<sup>re</sup> de Canada venu aussi de France le printems d<sup>re</sup> a été detaché de montréal en ce Poste où il est avec cette Troupe. a Ristigouche Fonds de la Baye des Chaleurs en Canada le 17. aoust 1760.

BALAGER.

[Bazagier]

*Archives des Colonies.*—Serie D<sup>2</sup>.—Vol. 48-2—Canada et Ile Royale.—Compagnies Detachés, p. 530.

2<sup>me</sup> Bat-  
ment  
1<sup>ere</sup> Lettre

CANADA 17 7<sup>bre</sup> 1760

M. BAZAGIER Envoye toutes les pièces à M<sup>r</sup> de Russ  
le Juin 1761

MONSEIGNEUR

J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer cy joint, l'extrait de la revue des troupes de ce poste, je n'en pu la faire plutôt, les mouvemens considérables de cette partie m'en ont empêché, et j'oubliai dans le compte que je pris la liberté de rendre à votre Grandeur, par le petit Machault, de comprendre dans l'état qui précédée cette revue un détachement posté en avant.

De quelques corsaires du port qui ont eu permission d'aller croiser, la chaloupe la Fortune de 26 hommes d'équipage et 3 pierriers, sous le commendement du Sieur Gramon, sortie du 30 Juillet dernier a fait deux prises considérables de vivres, boissons et marchandises seiches les 11 et 18 aoust dans les pazages de Gaspay, elles passoient de Baston à Quebec dont 1<sup>o</sup> pour le compte du Roi d'Angleterre; elles consistent en deux batteaux de 80 à 90 Tonneaux bien grées et bons pour le long cours, 1 est neuf, 6 et 7 hommes formoient leurs équipages.

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 383

Le 11 d'aout le bateau les Bonsenfans de 35 hommes et 3 pierriers, Capitaine Jung, sortit et il rentra il y a quatre jours avec une goëlette de 45 à 50 Tonneaux chargée majeure partie de diverses boissons et de quelques vivres et marchandises, elle avoit pareille destination, sortoit du même port et fut prise et 7 hommes au large de Bonaventure; il brûla aussi une goëlette qui s'étoit jettée à la côte en allant de l'Isle S<sup>t</sup> Jean à Louisbourg chercher des vivres; un lieutenant second com<sup>t</sup> et 14 soldats qui furent pris et mis à terre étoient à bord: un esquif qui portoit deux familles accadiennes, du port la Joye à Louisbourg a aussi été amariné par ce bateau à la satisfaction de ces gens la

Les armateurs et capitaines de ces corsaires m'ayant requis, Monseigneur, pour observer les formes convenables pour la sureté et validité des objets, j'y ai souscrit et observé et fais les démarches qu'auroient pu faire quelques officiers de l'amirauté; j'en rends compte aussi avec tout ce qui regarde le poste à Monsieur l'Intendant, qui voudra bien me donner des ordres au sujet de ces prises.

J'ose me flatter Monseigneur, que vous voudrés bien applaudir à ce procedé de ma part.

Des particuliers de cette Rivière ont bien armé et fait sortir pour la course, mais depuis le 23 aoust qu'ils ont mis à la voile, ils n'ont pas reparu, ils ont une goëlette de 35 Tonneaux, armée de 47 hommes, 10 pierriers et 3 canons d'1<sup>1</sup>.

Je joins encore ici autant juste qu'il se peut l'état général de la quantité de monde dépendant de ce poste, et la déclaration d'un habitant qui peut Monseigneur, vous interesser.

Entre autres copies que j'ajoute tous les états des effets chargés à bord du petit Machault, dont bonne partie provient des prises de la flotte du Sieur Giraudais, ainsi que de ceux qu'il a laissé au poste de convention déterminée avec Monsieur le Commandant quelques quarts de salaisons et majeure partie de blé d'inde se sont trouvés pourris. Ces premiers effets ont été déclarés à terre par ce capitaine de navire, déclaration



que Monsieur D'angeac et moi avons visée, mais nous ignorons absolument du plus ou du moins qu'il peut avoir fait charger à son bord, sa goëlette de 35 Tonneaux étoit chargée au point que le logement même de l'équipage fut diminué, il fit débarquer apris second maître d'autorité, et il a tiré beaucoup de billets sur ce qu'il avoit laissé au poste et pour bien d'autres objets; lui-même et partié de son monde, ont depuis leur débarquement ici jusqu'à mon arrivée au poste, fait des consommations considérables de vivres et boissons du Roy sans mesure ce que Monsieur le Commandant et moi avons en peine d'éteindre, les bâtimens n'étant pas commencés.

Suivant les ordres de Monsieur le général, Monseigneur, et ce qui a été arrangé par Monsieur D'angeac qui me fait part de ce à quoi il se détermine. Il a été délivré aux habitans du poste et de vilages en dependant <sup>1</sup> 2<sup>e</sup> de farine pour chaque personne jusqu'à la fin de février, outre un très petit parti de salaison une fois donné ce Commandant a accordé aussi en sus depuis mon arrivée à quelques uns d'entreux un peu de vivres et boissons comme il s'y est crû obligé; un bon nombre avoit eu bien des affaires à cause de l'écheet causé par l'ennemi en recompense et autrement.

Je prends la liberté d'envoyer à Votre Grandeur, quelques nouvelles écrites avec peu de tranquillité et de facilité pour le papier qui je crains nous manquera de bonheur.

Depuis un mois de mauvais tems les batimens du camp, n'ont jusqu'à présent pu se parachever en entier, j'y porte tous mes soins, pour conserver nos effets et de préférence les vivres qui en aparence ne passeront pas l'été 1761. Les extra ordinaire dans un païs sauvage et nouveau comme celui-cy font toujours craindre la consommation nos magasins alant finir Monseigneur j'aurai l'honneur de vous rendre un compte plus positif des marchandises que l'on sera à même de déballer l'accadien travaille difficilement le soldat n'est du tout point à plaindre.

Les particuliers n'ont encore relevé que 2 de leurs bâtimens coulés lors du combat.

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 383

Des imprimés destinés pour Montréal, je n'ai pu en trouver ici que 20 de ceux de lettres de change premières que j'envoie à Monsieur Bigot.

Le Sieur Lartigue capitaine du M<sup>e</sup> de Malauze, commandant à présent le bateau le petit marquis de 80 tonneaux seule prise qui reste de la flotte que commandoit le S<sup>r</sup> Grivaudais il a 93 hommes d'équipages des navires le Machault et le Marquis de Malauze et est destiné pour porter les secours et paquets de la Cour en France incessamment, étant prêt.

Je vous supplie Monseigneur de vouloir bien m'honorer de vos bontés à l'égard des services que j'ai faits dans cette Colonie et à Louisbourg depuis 10 ans, et précédemment 6 ans à Rochefort : dans l'intermédiaire je fus écrivain sur l'escadre de Monsieur Beaussier et à Brest en 1756 [? 1750];

Monsieur Hocquart en écrivit purlors à Mg<sup>r</sup> de Moras avantageusement mes services du Canada sont d'autant plus peinibles depuis mon retour

Il y a 3 ans que j'ai toujours été employé dans des postes critiques, et exactement chargé de détail dans les postes des pays d'en haut, à l'Isle aux Noix et ici d'où j'ose espérer de Votre Grandeur, de l'avancement ; J'ai eu avis en France dès le commencement de 1758. que je serois écrivain principal mais je n'en ai rien sçu depuis mon retour à la Colonie.

Dans mes instructions je suis chargé de ce qui regarde la construction des batimens de terre et le radout de ceux de mer après leur déchargement mais je n'ai disposé d'aucune manœuvre n'y voile, j'ai seulement menagé ce que j'ai pu ; la partie de l'hospital m'est aussi confié. A l'égard des effets et vivres Monsieur Dangeac doit tirer les billets que je dois voir pour le besoin des familles et sauvages, néanmoins Monseigneur, ce commandant qui avoit tout commencé à mon arrivée au poste m'a paru désirer suivre ces objets de concert avec moi. Nous avons en effet partagé le travail du tout à quoi je porte continuellement mes soins ; mais je n'ai fait que des représentations quelques fois sur la partie qui le regarde,

# 386 KNOX'S HISTORICAL JOURNAL APPENDIX

surtout au sujet des vivres distribués et j'ai taché avec les connoissances que j'ai pris de la situation de chaque famille que l'égalité du bien-être fut autant que je l'ai pu rencontrée : en outre les affaires avoient besoin d'être accélérées.

J'aurai l'honneur de vous rendre compte, par un autre bâtiment des dépenses et situations des équipages anciens du Machault, du Marquis de Malauze et du Bienfaisant.

Je suis avec le plus profond respect.

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

BAZAGIER

à Ristigouche

fond de la Baye des Chaleurs

le 17 7<sup>bre</sup> 1760

*Archives des Colonies.*—Canada.—Correspondance générale,  
vol. 105<sup>te</sup>, p. 406.

1760

## ÉTAT PRÉCIS DU MONDE DE LA DÉPENDANCE DE CE POSTE

no Soldats passant à Miramichy	Officiers de Troupes . . . . .	7	} hommes 206
	Soldats . . . . .	199	
A hyverner au poste	150 familles accadiennes . . . .	800	Personnes 1318
	46 familles à Miramichy . . . .	262	
	17 familles Normans et métifs à Gaspay, Pabos &c <sup>a</sup> . . . .	80	
	36 familles accadiennes de 3 vil- lages de Caraquit . . . .	150	
	5 familles à Chipagan . . . .	26	

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 387

familles sauvages du Poste . . .	250		
Familles Micmacks de Paquemouck, Miramichi, Gedaig et de [Ri]Chibouctou . . .	212	Personnes 462	
Personnes employées au service des familles et domestiques .		30	à gouverner au Poste
Equipage du Bienfaisant . . .	38		à renvoyer
id restant du Machault . . .	31	69	
Prisonniers, hommes femmes et 4 enfants . . .		à vérifier 31	
		<hr/> 2116	

A Ristigouche  
le 13 Septembre

BAZAGIER.

*Ibid.*, p. 416.

### MALADES À L'HÔPITAL.

8 Soldats  
4 Matelots du Machault  
1 Prisonnier

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13 le 16 Septembre

### BÂTIMENS RESTANT AUX PARTICULIERS LE 13 SEPTEMBRE 1760

2 batteaux de 80 à 90 Tonneaux  
1 Goëlette de 50 T<sup>rs</sup> prise faite  
1 Goëlette de 35 en course  
1 id de 55 que l'on vient de relever  
8 autres bâtimens petits existent encore  
— Un batteaux de 90 Tonneaux  
13 relevé aussy.

CANONS DE	
au camp . . . . .	12 . 6 . 4
en batterie les 3 derniers . . . . .	1 - 1 - 3
à la Pointe à Bourdon . . . . .	5 1
à la Batterie avancée . . . . .	3 - 2 - monte
Total . . . . .	<u>4 8 4</u>

*Ibid.*, p. 417.

CANADA, RISTIGOUCHE  
28 Octobre 1760.

M. BAZAGIER,

MONSEIGNEUR,

J'ai pris la liberté de rendre compte à votre Grandeur, de notre évacuation le 15 de ce mois que l'on mit à la voile, nous ignorions encore la capitulation de Montréal, mais deux jours après au matin nous aperçûmes à my-baye pointe de Paspédiac au Nord levant au plus près quelques bâtimens qui nous obligèrent de virer de bord et d'aller chercher le Sud vers la petite baye des Piziguis afin de renger cette partie pour sortir.

Le 18 courant des bords le vent Sud on aperçut au matin 7 batimens dont 2 frégattes qui nous donnèrent la chasse jusqu'en cette rade et à la nuit. Le lendemain le Capitaine Allen commandant la Marine et le Major Elliot, commandant la troupe anglaise venant de Quebec, détachèrent un garde de la Marine sachant un peu le français, au camp avancé annoncer cette capitulation accompagnée d'un ordre de Monsieur de Vaudreuil.

Enfin Monseigneur, les arrangemens sont pris en conséquence et nous devons faire voile de nouveau après-demain pour aunix [?]

J'ai l'honneur d'ajouter à votre Grandeur, qu'il reste en ce poste 1003 personnes françaises de tous âges dont j'ai remis

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 849

la liste à ce major qui va ordonner qu'il leur soit délivré les vivres restant en magasin : les familles des côtes éloignées sont exceptées par rapport au nombre

Je suis avec le plus profond respect,

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

BAZAGIER.

*Archives des Colonies.*—Canada.—Correspondance générale, vol. 105<sup>u</sup>,  
p. 418.

A BORD DU NAVIRE LA BONNE INTENTION, EN RADE  
DE CHEDEBOIS LE 4 OCTOBRE<sup>1</sup> 1760

M. BAZAGIER

MONSEIGNEUR

Je prends la liberté de rendre compte à votre Grandeur de l'arrivée de notre paquebot à bord duquel nous sommes embarqués en rivière Ristigouche, le 29 Octobre, avons mis à la voile des Islets au héron le 5 Novembre et arrivé en cette rade hier au soir Monsieur D'angeac, commandant Monseigneur, sur l'ordre de Monsieur de Vaudreuil, dont fut chargé Monsieur Outelas,<sup>2</sup> enseigne de Canada embarqué aussy, a suivy la capitulation de Montréal, ainsi que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous en informer à notre départ par la Goëlette que commande le Sieur Riou canadien sorti avec nous; Monsieur Allen commandant la Marine qui nous chassa du milieu de la Baye des chaleurs à Ristigouche d'où nous avons sorti le 15 Octobre, et Monsieur Elliot, major de troupes anglaises à leur retour de Quebec ont capitulé avec Monsieur D'angeac

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous envoyer Monseigneur, l'extrait exact de la revue des 4 piquets du camp de Ristigouche,<sup>3</sup> de cet embarquement desquels un caporal et 9 soldats sont passés en Septembre avec Monsieur de Niverville enseigne à Mira-

<sup>1</sup> Sic, for décembre.

<sup>2</sup> Sic, for de Catalogne : see p. 412.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 373.

misly, un sergent et 2 soldats ont resté à ce camp malgré les ordres, et Monsieur Duvivier, capit<sup>ne</sup> du 3<sup>ème</sup> Piquet est mort de la petite vérolle dans la traversée le 24 du mois dernier : 60 personnes de divers équipages ont aussi passé sur ce Paquebot. Le Sieur Lartigue capitaine du batteaux le petit M<sup>re</sup> de Malauze, fut détaché pour porter des paquets à votre Grandeur et avoit avec lui 73 hommes majeure partie passagers desquels je joignis avec cet Extrait, le rolle de revue et d'autres pieces.

J'aurois souhaité Monseigneur, qu'il se fit un inventaire des magasins à notre deblayement d<sup>re</sup>

Je suis avec le plus profond respect,

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

BAZAGIER.

Ecrivain de la Marine faisant cy devant fonctions de Commissaire à la Baye des Chaleurs.

*Archives des Colonies.*—Canada.—Correspondance générale, vol. 105<sup>bis</sup>,  
p. 420.

Colonies  
1761

ÉTAT DE LA SITUATION DU POSTE DE RISTIGOUCHE, DEPUIS  
LE 27 JUILLET, JUSQUES AU 5 NOVEMBRE 1760.

M. BAZAGIER.

La fin  
de Juillet

#### EVÈNEMENTS

Les navires le Machault, le Marquis de Malauze et le Bienfaisant, qui avoient armés à Bordeaux, et 4 de leurs prises se trouvèrent brûlés et coulés, une 5<sup>ème</sup> avoit été reprise en faisant la découverte au bas de la Rivière, la 6<sup>ème</sup> existoit ; majeure partie des effets et munitions des uns et des autres avoient été sauvés au nouveau camp, mais il y eut du pillage

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 391

au déblayment ; les magasins n'étoient que commencés et on prenoit ouvertement ; ce qui fut arrêté peu après enformant des billets de délivraison et sans lesquels rien ne devoit être enlevé.

Il fallut fretter un bâtiment accadien pour envoyer les dé-  
pêches de Monsieur de Vaudreuil, à la Cour ; le Sieur Giraudais <sup>Com-  
mencement  
d'Aout</sup>  
capitaine y embarqua les meilleurs effets de ses prises de la Pelleterie, ce qu'il voulut, il remit au magasin du Roi, des effets qu'il ne crut pas intéressants, 36 hommes d'équipage et passagers y embarquèrent.

La chaloupe la Fortune armée de 29 hommes, capitaine <sup>Aout</sup>  
Sieur Gramond, fit deux prises de 100 Tonneaux chacune considérablement chargées de vivres et marchandises sèches dans les pazages de Gaspay, elles passaient de Boston à Quebec, une pour le comte du Roi.

Le bateau les Bons enfants fut armé de 35 hommes sous le commandement du Sieur Jung, et prit en Septembre sur les côtes de l'Isle St Jean une goëlette chargée de vivres et marchandises, un autre que transportoit un détachement de 15 hommes à Louisbourg, et un esquif où étoient deux familles accadiennes qui alloient au même port, ce détachement fut mis à terre, le bâtiment brûlé et une de ces familles passa à Ristigouche.

Les accadiens armèrent aussi une goëlette 47 hommes <sup>Com-  
mencent  
de 7<sup>bre</sup></sup>  
formoient son équipage, au commencement d'Octobre ils firent à la vue de Gaspay une bonne prise, ils furent poursuivis par une frégate qui leur fit échouer leur bâtiment ils se batirent vigoureusement à terre et menèrent le tout à Chipagan où ils étoient encore à la capitulation.

La Sieur Lartigue capitaine d'un bateau des anciennes <sup>Le 14  
Septembre</sup>  
prises fut expédié pour le duplicata des dépêches pour la Cour ; il avoit à bord 74 hommes, majeure partie passagers françois.

Monsieur de Niverville enseigne commandant à Mira- <sup>à l'amy  
7<sup>bre</sup></sup>  
michy, enmena à son poste un caporal et 9 soldats du camp, ils y étoient encore lors de la capitulation.



En aout  
7bre &  
8bre

Il y a eu de petits batimens expédiés pour le cabotage particulier, et le transport de munitions du Roi, destinés pour les côtes et villages dependants de ce poste.

A la fin de  
7bre

Monsieur Dangeac, reçut ordre d'évacuer et de repasser en France, mais le tems d'armer plusieurs petits bâtimens partie délabrés n'ayant permis que de sortir le 15 Octobre et n'ayant point de biscuit fait comme on le souhaitoit en cas d'événement. Une flotte ennemie le rencontra le 19 dans la Baye des chaleurs et le chassa à coups de canon, pierriers et fusils, il falut rentrer et suivre la capitulation du Canada que cette flotte avoit, sans pouvoir faire d'inventaire des magazins.

Ces différentes positions ont déterminé à radoubier plusieurs bâtimens de mer, et construire de grands bâtimens de terre; de faire des marchés, affritemens, réglemens procès-verbaux, instructions, rolles de revues de la troupe, des matelots et habitans pendant la campagne et à l'évacuation, déclaration de capitaines anglais et françois et de pilotte pris de force et informé de l'affaire du capitaine Boucher qui hyverna et fut pris à gaspay en 1759 &c., appositions de scellés en rade et à terre, inventaires ventes de bâtimens et effets à l'égard des prises dernières et des particuliers morts ou pris, des inventaires de situation des magasins du Roi, états particuliers et général de consommation et d'effets pris pour en tenir compte, et autres pièces indispensables au service du Roi, d'lamirauté et du particulier.

Le 11  
Octobre

Le missionnaire Manach envoya de Beauséjour une lettre du 12 Septembre, par laquelle il réclame un coffre de chapelle qu'il laissa à Miramichy le 11 Juillet en en désertant avec quelques familles, il vent prouver qu'en passant à l'ennemi il n'a pas moins remply son objet; il a dit il suivi ses sauves chés l'anglois même.

Monsieur Niverville envoya des plaintes constatées de la rebellion des accadiens de sa partie, lesquels prirent d'autorité les vivres dont il étoit chargé et refusèrent aussi en maîtres de lui passer un domestique par raport a la ration.

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 898

Les habitans en général ont eu  $\frac{1}{2}$  livre de farine par personne, jusques au premier de Mars 1761 avec 14<sup>L</sup> de lard et 5<sup>L</sup> de bœuf salé chacun pour tout le tems: objet que l'on pouvoit donner en sus de la farine, plusieurs d'entre eux se sont sentis du pillage et des dons précipités; mais les plus malheureux qui l'on a reconnu ont été un peu mieux traités. 10. à 20<sup>L</sup>. de poudre par famille selon la force de chacune leur furent aussi délivrées.

Des effets qui auroient dû se donner aux habitans il ne s'en délivra qu'une très petite partie à ceux qui étoient dans le plus pressant besoin, lesquels furent aussi reconnus par d'exactes visites. Il restoit des billets pour travaux &c<sup>a</sup> sur les magasins, il n'y en a eu que partie d'acquittés ces magasins étoient néanmoins bien fournis.

L'état des habitans du poste montant à 1003 personnes fut donné au Major Elliot commandant anglois pour la terre, après l'avoir déterminé de lasser à ces Accadiens au moins les vivres du magasin ils en eurent effectivement les clefs après d'amples provisions faites par l'ennemi qui s'empara aussi des bâtimens chargés d'effets et munitions considérables: il a pu rester 800 quarts de farine avec 9 bariques de vin et duhtomb [?] Dans le paquebot sur lequel il a passé avec la troupe 60 marins, il falut acheter du bœuf et obtenir par grâce de mauvais vin pour la table quoique le poste étoit bien garni. Une goëlette de la rade fut vendue à des marins françois par le capitaine Allain elle devoit passer à Bordeaux sous le commandement du Sieur Rioux,

Les autres Accadiens, les Normands pêcheurs, les Amalites et Micmacks domiciliés, et ceux des autres villages avoient cy devant eu leur part.

## QUANTITÉ DES PERSONNES DÉPENDANTS DU POSTE.

Il y a dans cette partie 300 hommes à même de porter les armes	A Ristigouche 160 familles Accadiennes	Personnes
	faisant . . . . .	1003
	Sur le Corsaire accadien . . . . .	47
Français	A Miramichy 35 familles faisant . . . . .	194
	A Richibouctou 11 fam . . . . .	68
	A Caraquet 36 familles . . . . .	150
	A Chipagon 5 familles . . . . .	26
	A Gaspay, Pabot & 17 familles normandes et metifs faisant . . . . .	100
		<hr/> 1588
Sauvages	A Ristigouche les familles Micmacks for- ment . . . . .	250
	à Poquemouc, Miramichy, Esedaig et Richi- bouctou forment . . . . .	212
	Total . . . . .	<hr/> 2050

N<sup>o</sup> Les habitans des trois postes de Miramichy, de celui de Chipagan, des 3 de Caraquet, étoient fort à plaindre en Juillet : ils se pleignoient être dans le même état depuis quelques années : ceux de Ristigouche sortoient de diverses côte sans doute aussi malheureux : ils sont tous adroits mais paresseux et indépendants s'ils ne sont gouvernés.

Les normands, de la partié de Gaspay, Pabos, Pazpediat, la grande rivière n'étoient pas mieux cet été.

Lors de la capitulation les anglois ont brûlé deux batimens à canon qui restoient, encloué, rompu des canons, et demoli les

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 395

deux premières batteries, il a resté 7 petits batimens pour la pêche des habitans.

à Paris le Dernier Décembre 1760.

BAZAGIER.

*Archives des Colonies.*—Canada.—Correspondance générale, vol. 105<sup>bis</sup>,  
p. 567.

CANADA le 11 Octobre 1760

M. BOURDON.

MONSEIGNEUR,

Avant le fâcheux évènement de la prise du Canada, Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil a donné ordre à Monsieur Dangeac, commandant les troupes d'évacuer ce poste avec tous les officiers et soldats de sa garnison, ainsi que tous les matelots; dans une lettre particulière, il lui ordonna de me laisser commandant avec les Sieurs Niverville et Saint Simeon, le premier est dans un poste que Monsieur D'angeac lui a bien confié ainsi que les ordres de Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil le portoit: Je ne puis imaginer quelles peuvent être les raisons que Monsieur le Général a eû pour me quitter dans un poste comme celui cy, sans soutien de troupes, que des habitants qui ne peuvent prendre les armes, contre leur vainqueur à moins que la capitulation de Montréal, ne fit pas mention d'eux, auquel cas ils sont résout de garder les bois autant qu'ils pourront jusqu'à la paix.

Je me voit aujourd'hui bien embarrassé du party que je dois prendre; je pense que ma résidence n'est que pour empêcher qu'on ne fasse des incursions l'ennemie et di maintenir aussi les sauvages, pour qu'ils n'agissent de même et les faire vivre<sup>1</sup> en paix avec les habitants qui réside avec eux, de même que pour leur faire donner leur besoin des magasins qui sont icy qui sont assés pourvû surtout en marchandises, mais pour les vivres je ne crois pas si je puis me maintenir jusque au mois

<sup>1</sup> Read: "qu'on ne fasse des incursions sur l'ennemie et d'y maintenir aussi les sauvages, pour qu'ils n'agissent de même et les faire vivre en paix," &c.

de Juin quil puisse y en avoir pour plus lontems auquel tems je prévient votre Grandeur, que je me préparoit à me faire un armement pour aller en France, crainte qu'une saison plus avancée me mette à même d'essuyer une autre misère égale à celle que j'ai essuyé l'hiver dernier en me réduisant à menger des peaux de bœuf, peaux de castore et des chiens, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de le marquer à votre grandeur par les Sieurs Lavallière et Devannes.

Vous voyez Monseigneur, à combien d'événements je suis exposé, je n'ai jamais eu de volonté dans le service mais je ne vois pas les avantages que j'en naye retiré car depuis deux ans la commission de Capitaine devoit mètre accordé étant le plus ancien lieutenant du corps de Louisbourg y ayant trois compagnie vacante; je plein d'autant plus mon sort que je me vois faire celui de lieutenant et que peut être en mon absence on fera le remplacement des dites compagnies et j'auroit peut être le désagrément d'estre oublié. Je me repose sur la promesse que Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil ma fait, quil feroit valoir les services que je rendray comme il est lui même sur les lieux et qu'il rendra compte de son Gouvernement et des officiers à qui il a donné ordre de rester dans ces postes cy, ainsi que celui que Monsieur Dangeac vous rendra; tout cela me fait espérer que je ne seroit pas oublié et que votre Grandeur ne saretera pas à la seul récompense de capitaine mais aussi celle de la croix de S<sup>t</sup> Louis, pour la récompense des différents services que j'ay fait tant pour les sauvages que dans les différentes escadre où je me suis embarqué et des différents combat que j'ay essuyés; En gros en voicy quel-qu'un en mil sept cent quarante quatre au port royal y commandant deux cents cinquante hommes Sauvages mon retour dans le mois de Novembre, dans l'escadre le Duc D'anville, et mil sept cent quarante cinq, et mil sept cent quarante sept dans celle de Monsieur Lajonquiére. Sur le Diamant avec Monsieur Aucart, pris et mené en Angleterre, en quarante huit embarqué pour aller en Canada ou jarivé en bon port deux

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 397

mois après repartie pour aller faire faire des matereaux pour Louisbourg par ordre de Monsieur de Lagalissonnière. En mil sept cent cinquante huit au siège de Louisbourg, dou j'en suis sorti par ordre de Monsieur le Chevalier Durucourt nôtre Gouverneur sept jours avant la redition de Louisbourg pour porter des ordres à Monsieur de Boishebert, qui commendoit le camp volant après la redition de la place. J'eus ordre dudit Gouverneur de suivre le détachement, je me suis rendu dans cette partie où on me laissa commandant pendant le siège, je me suis maintenû jusqu'à l'arrivé de Monsieur Dangeac, qui en a pris le commandement par ordre de Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil, et aujourd'hui mes remis comme je l'ait ci devant dit à votre Grandeur.

J'auroit l'honneur de lui rendre compte de l'état du poste par l'évacuation du cinquième bâtiment dans lequel Monsieur Pommeroy lieutenant, passe avec le reste de la troupe ;

Je suis en espérant ce départ avec un profond respect

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

BOURDON.<sup>1</sup>

Au camp de Ristigouche le 11 Octobre 1760.

*Ibid.*, p. 400.

### EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CAP<sup>T</sup> HILL TO GOV<sup>R</sup> WHITMORE, DATED FORT AMHERST, 14<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 1760.

"This morning Captain Adlam came into this Harbour from Richibucto, and Informs me of the following particulars,

<sup>1</sup> Jean François Bourdon, sieur Dombourg, a native of La Rochelle, Parish of St. Barthelemy, was son of Jean François Bourdon, sieur Dombourg, a native of Quebec, and Madeleine Poyrel. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 179<sup>M</sup>, p. 49.) He was appointed second ensign, January 1, 1747 ; ensign with full pay, March 1, 1750. (*Ibid.*, F. 229, p. 139.) At Port La Joye, July 6, 1752, he married Marguerite Gautier, a native of Port Royal and daughter of Joseph Nicolas Gautier. (*Ibid.*, F. 179<sup>M</sup>, p. 49.) On May 1, 1764, he received a pension of 400 livres, and on May 22, 1775, was made Chevalier de St. Louis. (*Ibid.*, F. 229, p. 132.)

Viz! That on the 9<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> the Chief of the Tribe of the Richibucto Indians (who produced Articles of peace Signed by General Lawrence) Acquainted him, that there was on the third Instant at Mirimichi, a Great Force of French in Arms, and Several Armed Vessells; and that at Rastigushi in the Bay of Challeurs, there was lately Arrived from France Several Men of War, with Land Officers on Board.

That on the 10<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> the Chief of the Tribe of the Mirimichi Indians (who had likewise a Regular passport Signed by Col: Fry) Arrived at the Harbour of Richibucto on his way to Fort Cumberland, to give Col: Fry Intelligence of the following particulars, Viz<sup>t</sup>,

That on the 8<sup>th</sup> Instant, he left in the Mouth of the River Mirimichi, 6 Armed Vessells, mounting from 10 to 12 Guns Each, and 500 men in Arms, partly Canadiens, with 5 French Officers, One lately Arrived from Old France, & four from Canada; That a few days before he was at Rastagush, at which place was lately Arrived from France Five Men of War, two of Fifty Guns, the others something smaller, with several Officers and Soldiers on board, and that there likewise were several other Armed Vessells in that Harbour, but that he could not Understand anything of their Destination."

Indorsed: Extract of Letter from Captain LAM to Governor Whitmore, Dated Fort Amherst, 14<sup>th</sup> June, 1760.

Enclosed in the Gov<sup>r</sup> to General Amherst of the 1<sup>st</sup> July.

Containing Intelligence of the Enemy's having two 50 Gun Ships & three Frigates in the River S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence.

In M. G. Amherst's of Aug<sup>t</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1760.

N<sup>o</sup> 6.

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*Extract.*

LOUISBOURG, July 1<sup>st</sup> 1760.

"On the 25<sup>th</sup> May, a Detachment of One hundred & Sixty Men under the command of Cap<sup>t</sup> Hill of General Warburton's Regiment, Sailed from this Port; They arrived at Fort Amherst & Relieved the Garrison the 30<sup>th</sup>. As soon as Cap<sup>t</sup> Adlam & his Detachment were Embarked, he proceeded (according to his Instructions) to visit the Lurking places of the Enemy. Upon his Entrance of the Harbour of Richibucto the 11<sup>th</sup> ultimo the French Abandoned their Houses & fled to the Wood's, he found at Anchor One Brigg, & four Smaller Vessells, some miles up the River, did all he possibly could to bring them off, but they Grounded; He then sett them on fire, & burned them to the waters Edge, and Arrived here the 28<sup>th</sup> with his whole detachment, and all well.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> I received a Letter from Captain Hill, of which I here Enclose an Extract; I immediately communicated to Capt. Byron the Intelligence it contains, who the very next day sailed with the 70 Gun Ships the Scarborough & Repulse Frigates in Quest of the Enemy, and I hope soon to hear they have been so fortunate as meet with them.

I immediately on Receipt of Your Letter o<sup>r</sup> the 4<sup>th</sup> Ordered two Officers & Thirty men of the Company of Artillery to Embark, and they are Sailed with the Convoy.

As I have an Opportunity of taking up some Vessells here, I have begun to Embark some of the Ordnance Ships for Hallifax, that no time may be lost.

Engineers Debbiege & Spry, & Cap<sup>t</sup> Lieu<sup>t</sup> Lewis & L<sup>t</sup> Congreve of the Artillery, Embarked and Sailed with the Convoy this day."

EDW<sup>d</sup> WHITMORE.

His Excellency

GENERAL AMHERST.

Indorsed: Extract Letter from Governor Whitmore to General Amherst, Dated Louisbourg, 1<sup>st</sup> July 1760.

Acquainting him of the Reinforcem<sup>t</sup> &c<sup>ca</sup> having sailed for



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Quebec. That Cap<sup>t</sup> Adlam with a party had been in Richibucto Harbour, which the Enemy abandoned, leaving five Vessells, which he burnt, they being aground, & Enclosing Intelligence received from Cap<sup>t</sup> Hill at Fort Amherst, of the Enemy's having two 50 Gun Ships & 3 Frigates in the River S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence.

In M. G. Amherst's of Aug<sup>t</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1760.

N<sup>o</sup> 5.

M. 216 (C.O. 5: 59), p. 31.

#### EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN ON BOARD THE FAME MAN OF WAR, IN THE RIVER RICHTI- GOUGH, IN THE BAY OF CHALEUR, JULY 10.<sup>1</sup>

[This interesting letter is reprinted from the *Chronicle of the Annual Register* for the year 1760, p. 137.]

20th.

The last I wrote you was from Halifax, from whence we sailed to Louisbourg, and from thence, in company with five other small vessels, for Quebec. The evening following, viz. the 17th May, set in with three French frigates, or rather merchantmen freighted by the French king. We met them off Cape Gaspey; they took two of our small fleet; and, if the weather had not been foggy, would have taken all; the day before they took four other vessels, bound also for Quebec.

These three ships were part of a fleet of six which sailed in March from Bourdeaux, with troops and horses for the garrison at Montreal; three were taken in the channel, and the other three were to pass Quebec; but, unluckily, one of the small vessels they took had a French pilot on board, who in-

<sup>1</sup> Byron's letter to Lord Colville, dated on board the "FAME, Bay of Chaleurs, July 14th, 1760," will be found in vol. ii. p. 491.

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formed them that lord Colville had sailed some time before ;<sup>1</sup> on which they altered their course and steered for this bay, and immediately sent an express by land to Montreal, for orders from M. Vaudreuil ; but before he returned, the Fame came in sight, and two or three days after four more, viz. in all, the Fame, of 74 guns, the honourable John Byron, Commodore ; Dorsetshire 70, Captain Campbell ; Achilles 60, honourable Samuel Barrington ; Repulse 32, Captain Allan ; and Scarborough 20, Captain Scot.

These vessels were sent from England to see Louisbourg destroyed, and should never have thought of coming this way (as it is a place little known, and never suspected for a French settlement) had not an Indian from Merimichi informed the governor of Louisbourg, that there were in this river two 50 gun ships, three frigates, and a great many armed schooners : on which he informed Commodore Byron, who thought an opportunity like that of curbing the French should not be suffered to slip : his sails were all on shore, but in the afternoon he ordered the sails to be bent, and next morning put to sea, and arrived here the 24th of June, and was surprised to

<sup>1</sup> Extract from the *Journal* of Vice-Admiral Alexander Lord Colville, 1732-1764, pp. 46 and 47 :

"When I sent C. Wallis with a small Squadron down the River, we had been alarmed with several imperfect accounts, of french Fleets being in the lower River and Gulph. Captain Byron had arrived at Louisbourg from England with 3 sail of the Line, and having had the Intelligence more perfect than what reached us, sailed with the Fame, Dorsetshire, Achilles, Scarborough and Repulse ; and at Ristigouche, the bottom of the Bay of Chaleurs he found a french Frigate of 30 Guns and two Storeships, and about 19 small Vessels ; all which he destroyed. Most of the small Vessels had been taken from our Traders last Year and this, and some were part of my Convoy from Halifax : by these we learned that this French Armament, could not have been above eight or ten Leagues to Leeward of us, for several Days, while we were working up thro' the mouth of the Gulph : That being loaded with warlike Stores, they were endeavouring to get into the River before any english Ships should arrive ; but being disappointed in this hope, by the certain Intelligence that we were before them, they altered their Course and proceeded to Ristigouche, thinking it a Place of too difficult access, on account of the shoal Water, to be attacked in."

the only the three above-mentioned vessels, their names and strength as follow: the *Machault* 32 guns, Commodore la Giraudée; *Bienfaisant*, 12 guns, pierced for 30, Captain Grammont; *Marquis de Malos*, 16 guns, Capt. L'Artige.

The *Fame* arrived before any of the rest of the vessels; but being a large vessel, and little water, and a very difficult channel, could not get up for a good many days, which gave the French an opportunity to land most of their goods, and mount up to the head of the river. On their first arrival here they landed their troops, and built a battery; but the *Fame* soon silenced it: however, it was a great hinderance to our boats in sounding, the French vessels being quite light, and acquainted with the channel, got faster up than our two frigates, which gave them time to erect two new batteries, on two opposite points, in a narrow place of the river, which, with the *Machault* and *Bienfaisant*'s broadsides, made hot work for the two frigates and an armed schooner, as none of the line of battle ships could come higher than the first battery; at the batteries there were 250 soldiers, 700 Acadians, and 800 Indians, and on board the *Machault* between 4 and 500 men, and 140 or 150 on board the *Bienfaisant*.

The Commodore, finding it impossible to get up with any of the line of battle ships, sent some of his best men on board the frigates, and officers from his own and the rest of the ships, and manned a schooner of 4 six pounders with 100 men, commanded by one of his officers: the boats were manned, and, in defiance to all the fire from the batteries and ships, the vessels warped up, and the boats sounded under the very batteries. When they came up to the batteries, they soon silenced the weakest, and then brought their broadsides to bear on the other battery and ships, and a very smart fire was kept up for a long time, till at last the *Machault* struck, and all the guns of the battery (four excepted) were silenced: and a little time after the French set fire to her and the *Bienfaisant*, and dismounted the *Marquis de Malos*'s guns, which I believe

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never fired once; all the men got ashore. In the engagement we had 12 killed and 12 wounded. The French say, they had 30 killed and wounded; most of their officers were wounded.

It was very surprising that these vessels ever were destroyed; it seemed to me impossible; and the French were very secure, and with good reason; but success attends our arms, and, God be praised, our commanders know, and our officers will fight. It was a glorious attempt, and succeeded to admiration: but our Commodore would not depart till he had finished the business he came upon.

The English prisoners were sixty men and seven women taken in these small vessels for Quebec. Before the English ships appeared we were well used; but on their coming to sight, we were put into the hold of a small schooner, without air, without light, strongly guarded by a party of soldiers, under the cannon of the battery; our cloaths and beds taken from us; we had not room to stretch ourselves along on a tier of casks, which remained in the hold. This misery we suffered five days, and had very little provisions, and only brackish water to drink; then we were transported into the hold of the frigate, and worse treated there: the sailors were put into irons, and the captains and merchants had an old sail to lie on, spread on a row of hogsheads. Our allowance was bread and wine, with two ounces of pork per day; but, thank God, our appetites were not very keen; and if we complained that we were stifled with stench and heat, and eat up with vermin, they silenced us with saying, "Well, you shall go on shore under a guard of Indians," after telling us the savages had sworn they would scalp us every soul: they told us also, that, if we made the least noise, they would point four cannon into the hold and sink the vessel, or burn us like a parcel of rats.

When we begged for one of our own shirts, for God's sake, they said they were too busy to mind us. We remained

seven days in this condition; and when they saw our vessels hard after them, they confined us in the hold of the *Marquis de Malos*; and on the second or third day of our confinement, we heard the engagement, and, by two terrible reports, we understood the vessels of the French were blown up. Immediately after, we were ordered upon deck, and desired to embark upon a raft, which would have sunk with one half of our number; but we resisted, and would not go, for fear of the Indians: they told us then the vessel was ours, and desired us to take our chance; and then a guard of soldiers forced us into the hold, and overlaid the hatches, and left us.

Some time after, growing uneasy, and almost mad with fear, expecting every moment to be blown up, we knocked down a large bulkhead, and forced up the hatches, and set ourselves at liberty; and on rummaging the hold, to look for fire laid for us, we found an old English pendant, which we hoisted, that the English might observe us; but the smoke of the other two ships burning between us, hindered them from seeing us: all the shore was lined with Indians, firing small arms upon us; but, thank God, we were out of the reach of muskets. We were in the utmost perplexity to get away, because we knew, had we remained aboard that night, we should have been boarded by the Indians, and every man scalped.

We searched the ship for arms, but found none. We got a hogshead of scalping-knives, and every man took one, and armed with sticks and cannon-shot, we determined to stand on our defence to the last, if we could not escape. We hoisted a sail upon the raft, and enlarged it, determined to pass the battery, and get to the English ships before night; but, happy for us, a young fellow who could swim very well, set off, and arrived safe at the *Repulse*, which was a full league distant from our prison; and immediately nine boats were manned, and bravely passed the battery, in spite of a brisk cannonading from it; the *Repulse* and *Scarborough* covered

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 403

the boats, and plied the fort so successfully, that they abandoned it, and left us masters. Capt. Wood of the marines was my deliverer on the 8th of July; he commanded one of the boats, and took me on board, and brought me safe into his ship.

*Copy.*

LOUISBOURG, 3. August 1760.

SIR,

I did myself the Honour of writing to You o' the 16<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> of which I Inclose a Copy, since then, viz o' the 17<sup>th</sup> I received Yours Dated 26<sup>th</sup> June, the Contents of which I shall pay due regard to: only as the difference of paying Artificers according to Your Regulation, and as we have been Accustomed here, is but small, And as it might much retard the Service, to make any Alteration for the little time it will Continue, I thought it best to go on as formerly, which I hope You will Approve of.

Inclosed in the Letter I had the honour of writing to You o' the 1<sup>st</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> was an Account that the Chief of the Tribe of the Richibucto Indians, who had made peace with Governor Lawrence, had given Information to Cap<sup>t</sup> Adlam, that there was on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June at Miramichi, a great Force of French in Arms, and several arm'd Vessells, and that at Rastagoush in the Bay de Chaleurs there were lately arrived from France, several Men of War, with Land Officers on board, and the same Intelligence (only with some Variation) was also Confirmed to Cap<sup>t</sup> Adlam, by the Chief of the Tribe of the Mirimichi Indians; At same time I Informed You that I communicated this Intelligence to the Honb<sup>le</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Byron, of His Majesty's Ship Fame, who next day, viz<sup>t</sup> the 18<sup>th</sup> June, sailed with the Dorsetshire, and Achilles, Men of War, & Scarborough & Repulse Frigates, in Quest of them—I have now

to Inform You, that on the 24<sup>th</sup> Ultimo, Cap<sup>t</sup> Byron returned into this Harbour with all the Ships (except the Repulse who being much damaged was sent to Halifax to Refitt) He Informed me that high up in the Bay of Challeurs he discovered about Thirty sail of Vessells, among whom was a Frigate of Thirty Six Guns & two Large Letter of Marque Store ships; The Enemy warped them as high up as they could, and got three Batteries Erected on the Shore to defend them, Our Ships tho' often Aground, and their Men Carrying Warps out in Boats, Exposed to a hott fire from the Shore, Yet got up so as to Silence the Batteries, and the Frigates got up to, & Engaged the Ships untill they Struck, but in about an hour after, the Enemy themselves blew up the Frigate, and sett fire to the rest so that they were all burnt. They released about Sixty English Prisoners taken in several Vessells going to Quebec, and retook a small Schooner belonging to New England.

There were about three or four Hundred Regular Troops, and a Thousand Canadians who all fled into the Woods. The great Quantity of Stores destroyed with these ships, & the demolishing such a number of their Vessells, will doubtless in a great Measure disconcert any scheme the Enemy may have had of sending Supplys by the way of the Rivers, and will put an End (I hope entirely) to the Depredations they have made on our Vessells going up to Quebec.

On the 31<sup>st</sup> Ulto in the Evening His Majesty's Ship Vengeance arrived off this Harbour, having on board Dispatches for You, Brig<sup>d</sup> Murray and Gov<sup>t</sup> Lawrence, with the most pressing orders that they might be forwarded with the utmost Expedition. Those for You and Brig<sup>d</sup> Lawrence, he left with Commodore Byron, & proceeded to Quebec with the other. The Scarborough was immediately Dispatched with Yours, Who sailed next morning at day light, so that by him I had an opportunity of writing to You.

Inclosed are Monthly Returns of the State of this Garrison.

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I most heartily & Sincerely wish You health and all prosperity, and have the honour to be

Sir, &<sup>ca</sup>

EDW<sup>d</sup> WHITMORE.

His Excellency

GENERAL AMHERST.

Indorsed: Copy Letter from Gov<sup>t</sup> Whitmore

To General Amherst

Dated Louisbourg, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1760.

Giving an Account of the Success of His Majesty's Ships under Cap<sup>t</sup> Byron, against the French Fleet in the Bay of Chaleurs, &<sup>ca</sup>

In M. G. Amherst's of Octo<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1760.

N<sup>o</sup> 3.

M. 216 (C.O. 5: 59), p. 177.

*Copy.*

CAMP OF MONTREAL,

9<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1760.

SIR,

I Am to Return You my thanks for Your Favor of the 3<sup>d</sup> Ultimo (which came to my hands Yesterday) as also for the Intelligence it Contains of Cap<sup>t</sup> Byron's Success in the Bay of Chaleurs, which I doubt not will have put an Entire end, to the Depredations which the Enemy in those Quarters, had so long, and so frequently made, on our Vessells going up to Quebec.

By the Capitulation, mentioned in my other Letter of this day, not only, all the French Troops throughout Canada, are to Evacuate the same, but, in general, Every One of the Inhabitants within the whole Extent of that Country, are Subjected to the Dominion of Great Britain; Whereby all Apprehensions, on Account of those at Rastagoush, must now



shortly Subside, as I shall take the proper Measures, with Lord Colvill, for Sending the Regulars to France. And Cause the Oath of Allegiance to be tendered to the Inhabitants, after which I dare Say they will be Cautious not to Offend.

You have done very right not to Conform to the Regulations I sent You, for the Pay of Artificers, since it might have been Attended with a Retarding of the Service; and Especially as You Say, that the difference between that and Yours is but Small.

I am Obligated to You for the Information You are pleased to give me of the Dispatches that came for me by His Majesty's Ship Vengeance; they came to my hands some days since.

I am, with great Regard  
Sir, &c<sup>a</sup>

JEFF: AMHERST.

His Excellency  
Gov<sup>r</sup> WHITMORE.

Indorsed: Copy Letter from General Amherst  
to Gov<sup>r</sup> Whitmore

Dated Camp of Montreal, 9<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1760.

In Answer to the Gov<sup>r</sup> of 3<sup>d</sup> Aug<sup>st</sup>

That he did not doubt but that Captain Byron's Success had put an end to the Depredations the Enemy had so long made in the Bay of Chaleurs, And that as by the Capitulation, All Canada was Subjected to His Majesty's Dominions, all Apprehensions on Acco<sup>t</sup> of the French at Ristigoush must Subside, &c<sup>a</sup>

In M. G. Amherst's of Octo<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1760.

N<sup>o</sup> 4.

M. 216 (C.O. 5. 59), p. 181

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SIR,

I have the honour to send you an Account of the Disposition of the King's Ships under my Command, which will shew the situation of the Army under Brigadier General Murray before Montreal Capitulated, and the method I have taken to guard the River St. Lawrence.

Captain Byron Senior Officer of the King's Ships at Louisbourg, in consequence of Intelligence he had received from Brigadier General Whitmore, of some Ships of the Enemy being at Ristigouchi in the bottom of the Bay of Chaleurs, immediately sailed with the Fame, Dorsetshire, Achilles, Scarborough and Repulse; and found the french Ships at the Place described, being the Machaux Frigate of thirty Guns, two large Store-ships, and nineteen sail of smaller Vessels, most of which had been taken from our Traders last Year and this. All these, with two Batteries and two hundred Houses were destroyed, and the Settlement totally ruined. But I cannot do Justice to Captain Byron's spirited Behaviour, better than by Enclosing a Copy of his Letter to me, which being dated in the Bay of Chaleurs on the 14<sup>th</sup> of July, I imagine was immediately after this Service was performed.

The Frigate and Storeships came out in the Spring, but finding our Squadron had got up the River before them, put into the Bay of Chaleurs. Captain Wallis—with the Prince of Orange, Rochester and three armed Vessels was (in pursuance of my Orders) going up the Bay of Chaleurs, but met Captain Byron coming down.

The joint Request of Generals Amherst and Murray concurring with my own Inclinations to serve Captain Deane of the Diana, has induced me to send him to wait on you with this Letter. He commanded all the Vessels Employed on the Expedition from Quebec to Montreal; and from his own Abilities has surmounted the Difficulties of an unknown, intricate and dangerous Navigation.

To sum up his Merit in one Sentence he has approved

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himself a most deserving Officer, and as such I presume to recommend him to your Favour.

He is very capable of giving you an Account of whatever you desire to know, with relation to this Country.

I am with great Respect and Esteem.

Sir,

Your most Obedient and  
most humble Servant

COLVILLE.

Northumberland at Quebec

12. Sept<sup>r</sup> 1760.

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>

W<sup>m</sup> PITT Esq<sup>r</sup>

Indorsed : Quebec Sept<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1760.

Lord Colville.

R<sup>d</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> by Capt<sup>n</sup> Deane.

M. 215<sup>a</sup> (C.O. 5 : 58), p. 593

*Copy.*

CAMP OF MONTREAL,

15<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1760.

MY LORD,

Having been Informed, that the French Troops, which Landed in the bay de Chaleurs, were still, to the number of 300, or nearly that at Rastigush; I have Applied to Mon<sup>r</sup> Vaudreuil for an Order from him to the Commanding Officer of those Troops, to Comply with the terms of Capitulation; this Order I have Obtained, and I send with the French Officer, who is to see this Order Executed on the part of M<sup>r</sup> Vaudreuil, and I order a Field Officer, two Captains, four Subalterns and 150 Men from Quebec to Embark and proceed to the Bay de Chaleurs.

I am therefore to Desire Your Lordship, that upon receipt hereof, You will be pleased to order such Vessell, or Vessells as You Judge proper to take in the above Detachment, and

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 411

to Convey them to the Bay de Chaleurs, and back again to Quebec, with all the Arms, Artillery, Ammunition &<sup>ca</sup>, they shall agreeable to the terms of the Capitulation have received from this body of French Troops, & the Inhabitants, and as many more Transports, as Your Lordship shall Judge Necessary for Embarking & Conveying to Rochelle in old France, the aforementioned Body of 300 Men; Which Transports You will please Cause to be Equipped & Victualled, in the same manner as those I requested of Your Lordship Yesterday, for the Troops that go from hence, And I doubt not, but You will think it necessary, that some Ship of Force, should Accompany these Vessells into the Bay de Chaleurs, and that You will order one Accordingly.

The Articles of Capitulation are so long, I have not at present time to have them Copied, but I shall send them to You by the next Occasion.

I am

My Lord

&<sup>ca</sup>

JEFF: AMHERST.

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>

LORD COLVILLE.

Indorsed: Copy Letter from Gen<sup>l</sup> Amherst

To Lord Colvill

Dated Camp of Montreal 15<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1760.

That M<sup>r</sup> Vaudreuil having sent an Order by a French Officer to the Commanding Officer of the Troops Landed in

<sup>1</sup> Lord Colville, on board the *Northumberland* at Quebec, writes as follows to Major-General Amherst on September 18, 1760:

"Agreeable to Your Desire, I am now preparing Vessells, to carry the Troops to the Bay of Chaleurs; and Transports to Carry the French Prisoners from thence to Rochelle."

"I am in hopes they will be ready to sail in two days, and one of the King's Ships shall attend them for that Service." (*Canadian Archives*, M. 216 (C.O. 5 59), p. 241.

the Bay of Chaleurs, directing him to Comply with the terms of the Capitulation, the Gen<sup>l</sup> had ordered a Field Officer with a proper Detachment to Accompany him, and therefore Desiring his Lordship to order such Vessels as he should Judge proper, to take said Detachment to the Bay of Chaleurs, and back again, with all the Arms &c<sup>a</sup> that might be found there, with as many more Transports as he might Judge necessary to Convey the French Troops, which were Supposed to be about 300 to Rochelle in old France.

In M. G. Amherst's of Octr 4<sup>th</sup> 1760.

N<sup>o</sup> 24.

M. 216 (C.O. 5 : 59), p. 237.

CAMP OF MONTREAL

Sept. 15<sup>th</sup> 1760.

DEAR SIR,

The Marquis de Vaudreuil has appointed an Officer Named Catalogne, to go with his Orders to the Officer Commanding the French Troops who have Landed in the Bay des Chaleurs, that they should deliver Up their Arms, and Comply with the Articles of Capitulation, in which they are Included with all Canada,

You will therefore please immediately to Dispatch an Officer with Mons<sup>r</sup> de Catalogne<sup>1</sup> to Quebec, from which

To this letter General Amherst's answer is dated "Camp of Montreal, 21st Septem<sup>r</sup> 1760," in which he says : "I am this moment favored with Your Lordship's Letter of the 18th and am to Return you my thanks for the Orders you have given for the preparing the Vessells to carry the Troops to the Bay of Chaleurs, & Transports to carry the French Prisoners to Rochelle. Before this reaches Your Lordship, you will have Learnt from Gov<sup>r</sup> Murray, that My Opinion Agrees with Your own in regard to the Troops being sent to Louisbourg, if it should be found Impracticable for the Vessells to Return to Quebec this Season." (*Ibid.*, p. 244.)

<sup>1</sup> Louis François Gédéon De Catalogne, born at Louisbourg, February 14, 1734, son of Joseph De Catalogne, lieutenant of a company, and of Charlotte Renault de Dubuisson. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 179 B, p. 379.) He married, at Montreal, February 19, 1759, Marie Louise Guyon. (Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, vol. iii. p. 265.) He was the grandson of the engineer Gédéon

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 418

place You will order a Field Officer, Two Captains, Four Subalterns, and One hundred & Fifty men to Embark and to proceed to the Bay des Chaleurs, where he will apply to the Officer Commanding the French Troops, and See Everything Executed according to the Articles of Capitulation ; and he is then to put on board the Vessell, in which he is to Return to Quebec, all Arms, Ammunition, Stores &<sup>ca</sup> and see the French Troops Embarked, that they may proceed to La Rochelle, in like manner as is Ordered for all the French Troops now going from Canada. The Field Officer will take an Exact List of the Names of the Officers and Men, which is to be Signed by the Several Officers, Certifying that they are not to Serve during the present War.

Enclosed is a Letter for Lord Colvill, desiring that His Lordship will immediately on the Receipt of it, Order such Vessells as he shall Judge requisite, for the Execution of the Above Service, and he will give the proper Orders to the Master, or Masters, of the Transports (as I suppose the Number of French may amount to Three Hundred men) to proceed with them to La Rochelle. If from any unforeseen Event these Troops may have been Supplied with Vessells to Carry them off, the Field Officer will in that Case, make a very Close Search to take any Artillery, Ammunition, &<sup>ca</sup> they may have left behind them, and will Return to Quebec.

I am, &<sup>ca</sup>

JEFF: AMHERST.

Honble Gov<sup>r</sup> MURRAY

P.S.—Enclosed are the Articles of Capitulation for the Field Officer, as far as necessary for his Guidance.

M. 216 (C.O. 5 : 59), p. 247.

Nous Ordonnons à M. de Catalogne Enseigne en pied d'Infanterie de se Rendre à Ristigouche avec L'Officier Chargé De Catalogne. He was appointed ensign with full pay, March 15, 1755. At the capitulation of Montreal he was taken prisoner. (*Canadian Archives*, F. 229, p. 145.) He died at St. Domingo in 1781

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des Ordres de Son Excellence Le Général Amherst, ou étant, il remettra Nôtre Lettre pour M. Danjai, ou autre Officier Commandant en Son Absence au d. lieu, dans ce cas que les Officiers qui auront resté dans cette partie soient Inferieurs à lui, il les rassemblera avec les Soldats qu'il peut y avoir, leur fera mettre bas les Armes, et Se retirera avec Eux sur le Vaisseaux Anglois qui lui Sera destiné en France, Suivant l'Article de la Capitulation concernant les d'Troupes.

Fait à Montreal le 15 7<sup>me</sup> 1760.

VAUDREÜIL.

*Copie.*

Indorsed : Copy. Orders from M<sup>re</sup> de Vaudreuil to a French Officer, directing him to Accompany the Detachm<sup>t</sup> sent by Gen<sup>l</sup> Amherst to Ristigouch to Deliver his Orders to the Officer Commanding the French Troops at that place to Comply with the terms of the Capitulation &c<sup>a</sup>

15<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1760.

In M. G. Amherst's of Oct. 4<sup>th</sup> 1760.

N<sup>o</sup> 38.

M. 216 (C.O. 5 : 59), p. 284

*Copy.*

CAMP OF MONTREAL, Sep<sup>r</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> 1760.

MY LORD,

I Had last night the favor of receiving Your Lordships Letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> Instant, by Cap<sup>t</sup> Cramahé, Enclosing an Account of the King's Ships under Your Lordship's Command.

I am much Obliged to Your Lordship for the Dispatch with which You have forwarded Major Barré, who, to Judge by the Winds, as we had them here, must have very soon got out of the River.

I am glad to find there are Vessells sufficient, with what Your Lordship can Assist us in, by putting the Prisoners on

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 415

board the Men of War (which may be sent from England to France) to take the whole Number over, and I believe I may Include those at the Bay des Chaleurs, for I don't Imagine, that all there will be at that place, of the French, or La Marine Troops, will Amount to Three Hundred Men, notwithstanding the Accounts they have given of their Numbers.

I proposed immediately after the Capitulation that the Marquis de Vaudreuil should send Jointly with me to the Bay des Chaleurs; he was Convinced this Party had got off, but on the Report I had afterwards of the Party being yet at the Bay des Chaleurs; he very readily sent an Officer, which will Settle that Affair entirely; I am not the less Obligated to Your Lordship for the Intelligence You have sent me from that part.

I Send Your Lordship Enclosed a Copy of the Capitulation.

I am, with the greatest Regard,  
My Lord, &c<sup>a</sup>

JEFF: AMHERST.<sup>1</sup>

Rt Honb<sup>ts</sup>

LORD COLVILL

Indorsed: Copy Letter from General Amherst  
To Lord Colvill.

Dated Camp of Montreal

19<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1760.

Thanking His Lordship for the Dispatch with which he had forwarded Major Barré, and Enclosing a Copy of the Capitulation.

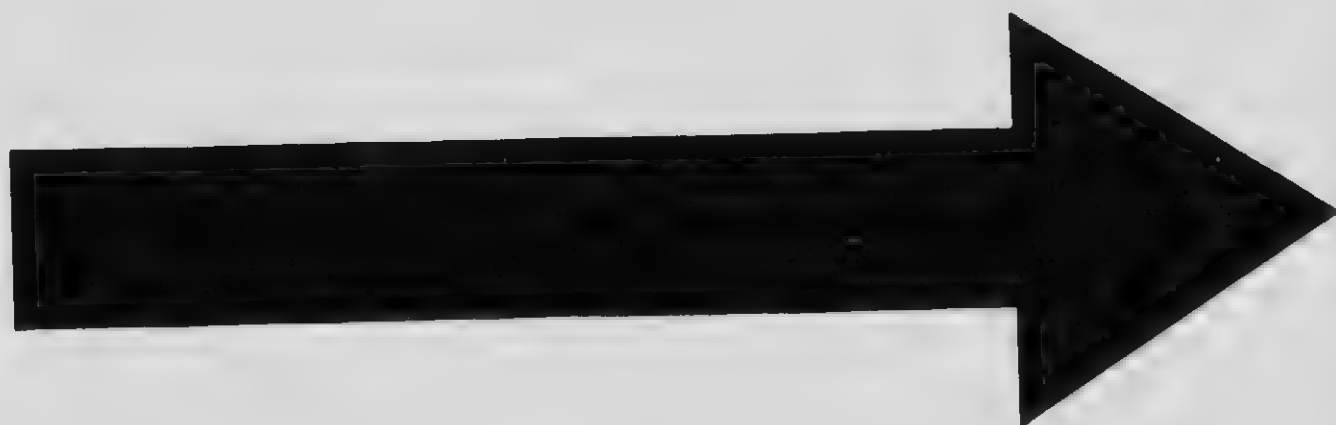
In M. G. Amherst's of Oct. 4<sup>th</sup> 1760.

N<sup>o</sup> 25.

M. 216 (C.O. 5: 59), p. 259.

<sup>1</sup> Major-General Amherst, in a letter to the Rt. Hon. Wm. Pitt, dated New York, January 7, 1761, says: "I have not heard anything farther of Major Elliot and the part of the detachment with him, from the bay des





*Copie.*

Etat des Officiers des Troupes Detaché de La Marine en Garnison à Ristigouche, Compris dans la Capitulation du huit Septembre dernier, faite à Montréal, Entre Messieurs Le Marquis De Vaudreuil, et Le General Amherst, qui doivent S'embarquer pour France, sur le Cartel, envoyé à ce Sujet, sur leur Parolle de ne point Servir pendant la présent Guerre, Contre Sa Majesté Britanique, et ses Alliés.—SCA VOIR.

Messieurs—D'angeac	Capitaine Commandant
Dupont Duvivier	Capitaine
D'orfontaine	Capitaine
Bourdon	Lieutenant
Du Boisberthelot	Lieutenant
Pommeroy	Lieutenant
Villedonné	Lieutenant
Saint Simeon	Enseigne en pied
Bazagier	Commissaire
Marrot	Chirurgien Major de les Troupes

Lesquels Officiers, et Troupes seront, transferé en France Guidant L'Article 3. de la Capitulation.

Chaleurs, so I am apprehensive they may have been drove to some of the West India Islands." (*Canadian Archives*: M. 217 (C.O. 5: 60), p. 10.)

Extract from a letter of General Amherst to Pitt, dated New York, February 27, 1761:

"The Vessel that was missing with Major Elliot and part of the Troops from the bay des Chaleurs, was Cast away on the Island of Sable, but the men all saved except two Seamen. Major Elliott and the Detachment are arrived at Halifax, they have gone through a Scene of distress as you will see by the Copy of his Letter which I enclose." (*Canadian Archives*: M. 218 (C.O. 5: 61), p. 221.)

General Amherst writing from Staten Island, October 5, 1761, to Secretary Ch. Townshend, says:

"Since my last Letter I have received from Lieut. Colonel Elliot a List of the Officers and men taken at Ristigouche which I enclose to you." (*Canadian Archives*: *Military Despatches*, M. 309, p. 219.)

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Fait au Camp de Ristigouche Le Vingt Sept Octobre Mil Sept cent Soixante.

(Signe)	D'Angeac, Commandant	
	Bourdon	Dupont Duvivier
	D'orfontaine	St Simon
	Duboisberthelot	Potier Depommeroy
	Villedonné	Bazagier

Abstract of the Non Commission'd Officers & Privates, belonging the 'forementioned Companies of the Marine, Subject to the Capitulation of Canada—Vizt.

Compagnie de D'Angeac . . . .	49
de La Valliere . . . .	47
de Dupon Du Vivier . . . .	44
de Dorfontaine . . . .	45
Total . . . .	<u>185</u>

(Signé)

D'ANGEAC, Commandant.

Endorsed: Copy of the Parole of the French Officers at Ristigouche, who, pursuant to the Capitulation of Canada, are not [to] serve during the present War; with an Abstract of their Numbers, 27<sup>th</sup> October 1760—deliver'd in by Lt. Col. Elliott the 29<sup>th</sup> August 1761.

*Military Despatches: M. 309, p. 221.*

*Duplicate Copy.*

HALIFAX, Jan<sup>y</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> 1761.

SIR,

I Do myself the Honor to Acquaint You that Conformable to General Murray's Orders I sailed from Quebec the 23<sup>rd</sup>

Sep<sup>r</sup> with 1 Cap<sup>t</sup> 2 Lieuts, 4 Serj<sup>ts</sup> 4 Corp<sup>s</sup>, 2 D<sup>s</sup> 100 private for Risticoush under Convoy of the Repulse frigate, Cap<sup>t</sup> Allen: We arrived there the 20<sup>th</sup> Octo<sup>r</sup>. Mons<sup>r</sup> Danjac the Commanding Officer of the French Troops took Eight & forty hours to consider whether he should Comply with the Terms of Capitulation; On the 30<sup>th</sup> the Troops laid down their Arms; 3 Cap<sup>ts</sup>, 4 Sub<sup>s</sup>, 8 Serj<sup>ts</sup>, 178 Rank & File, and Embarked in the Flag of Truce sent for them.

We were Employed till the 5<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> in getting on board the Stores from their Magazines, in which was 327 barrels powder, Musket ball, small Shot, Blankets, Coarse Brown Cloth, Flour, Pork, Wine, Rum, & Brandy, the particular Quantity cannot ascertain, there being a great deal more than the three Schooners I had with me could receive on board, the Powder was all brought away, the Shot I threw into the River, where it was impossible for them to get them out; the rest of the Goods I desired the Cap<sup>ts</sup> of Militia to divide equally amongst the Inhabitants.

There were five pieces of bad Cannon, three of twelve & 2 of nine pounders, upon a Wretched Battery En barbett, they had two six pounders in their Camp; as Cap<sup>t</sup> Allen Assured me it was Impossible to get these Cannon on board, I broke their Carriages and Sniked the Cannon.

The Inhabitants by the List I have got amount to one Thousand and three persons, about 700 of them, as I was informed able to Carry Arms; those that had Arms, by my orders Delivered them up. Ristigoush is a scattered parcel of Loghouses, in the midst of woods, and no Clear Ground near it; the Shallowness of the Water up the River makes it very difficult for anything bigger than a Canoe to get up; near to Ristigoush there is a village, with about one Hundred Mick Mack Indians; the heads of whom I made peace with by burying the Hatchet, giving them a few Blankets, & a little Provisions.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Allen retook two New England Sloops & some

## ENGAGEMENT IN BAIE DES CHALEURS 419

prisoners; these he Carried with him to Halifax, what other Vessells that were there, and might be of any Service were Burnt.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> we sailed in the Evening, unfortunate for us we lost Convoy, the night we got through the Gut of Canso, Came on a Storm which Continued three days, and obliged us to lye too 'till the 14<sup>th</sup> in the morning the weather Cleared up a little, And we Saw Land, which the Master of the Vessell took for Gaberouse bay, but was Canso; About ten O'Clock next night we struck on the North East barr of the Island of Sable, where we continued thumping four Hours. Expecting to fall to pieces, when we got off she took in so much water, that it was with the greatest Labour we got to the South shore of the Island of Sable where we run on shore in the afternoon; in sending our Boat on shore to fix a Rope, in returning, the Surf was so great that she was lost with two sailors in her. The Sea still continuing very high did not attempt going on shore, but Employed ourselves in throwing over Provisions; next morning finding the Vessells hole almost full of Water and Sand, we were obliged to venture (through a very great Surf) on shore, which was happily Effected in a few hours without the loss of a Man; by means of an Empty Cask fixed between two Ropes, and fastened on shore; in this manner we were drawn the space of four-score Yards; it was two nights before we could pick up anything to get over our heads, the provisions we had been able to save I found by Calculation to serve Us till May (the time I expected we should get off) we had five ounces Flour and one Gill of Liquor a day, four pounds of pork for six men a week; however a few days relieved us from this pinching allowance having discovered horn'd Cattle, and Horses both which we killed; we now got some Yards & Sails from the Vessell and Erected ourselves Barracks & a Store house, the Sedge of the Island served for Thatch; our greatest mortification was now to see Vessells very often Discover our Signals; but none had

Charity enough to Come to our Relief, till a small Schooner from Marble head Came the 31<sup>st</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup> in search of some fishermen that were missing, she saw my Signals, and Staid off the Island a week, 'till she could send her boat on shore, which was the 7<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>—next day was Embarked a Serjeant & seventeen men, with the Master & Sailors of our Vessell, and some of another Sloop that was wrecked a few days after us, the weather Coming on bad, and the Master of the Vessell not Chusing to stay, dispatched him to this place, where he arrived the 9<sup>th</sup>, Came back by Col. Forster's Orders on the 20<sup>th</sup>, and next day we arrived here.

The Arms Accoutrements, Camp Equipage, L<sup>t</sup> Daltons Baggage, and all my own are lost, I was not able to bring away the Stores—The Vessell being too small & myself & party in no very good condition for a Voyage, thought it best to remain here 'till I have the honor to receive Your further Commands.

Serj<sup>t</sup> Major Tho<sup>s</sup> Bell Exerted himself upon this occasion very much, which he has likewise done upon many others, in Justice to him, Sir, I take the Liberty of recommending him to You. I have Just had the pleasure to hear Cap<sup>t</sup> Carter & the Vessell with the Powder is arrived safe at New York.

I hope You will not think this narrative too tedious, they are all the particulars I can Carry in my Memory, for my papers to the shirt on my back went away together.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest Respect,

Sir, &c<sup>a</sup>

R. ELLIOT

Major to the 43<sup>d</sup> Regim<sup>t</sup>

His Excellency

General AMHERST.

Indorsed : Copy Letter from Major Elliot of the  
43<sup>d</sup> Regt<sup>t</sup> to Gen<sup>l</sup> Amherst.

Dated Halifa 24<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1761.

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Acquainting the General of his having Executed his orders at Ristigoush in Disarming the Inhabitants, and Embarking the French Troops (after having laid down their Arms &c<sup>a</sup> agreeable to the Capitulation of Canada) on board the Repulse Frigate, and that having reembarked the whole of his Command, he sailed from Ristigoush, but soon had the misfortune to lose his Convoy in a Violent Storm, and Containing a Narrative of the Wreck of the Schooner in which he was on the Isle of Sable without the loss of any of his men, & of their being brought to Halifax by a Schooner that Accidentally discovered his Signals.

In M. G. Amhersts of Feb<sup>y</sup> 27: 1761.

N<sup>o</sup> 24.

M. 218<sup>l</sup> (C.O. 5: 61), p. 316.





## XXIX

### LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED

#### I. MANUSCRIPTS

##### ABERCROMBY.

Despatches from General Abercromby to the Hon. William Pitt, 1758. The originals are in the Public Record Office, London: C.O. 5: 50 (formerly A. & W. I. 87). Copies are in the Canadian Archives.

##### ADMIRALS' DESPATCHES.

Admirals' Despatches, vols. 481, 482. Despatches from Holmes, Durell, Saunders, and Colville, 1759-1760. The originals are in the Public Record Office, London: copies in the Canadian Archives, M. 6521.

##### AMHERST.

Despatches from General Amherst to the Right Hon. William Pitt, 1758-1760. The originals are in Series C.O. 5 of the Public Record Office, London. These letters, with their numerous enclosures, constitute the official record, from the British side, of the war in America during the period of Amherst's command. Copies are to be found in the Canadian Archives. Large portions of these despatches are published in Kimball's "Correspondence of William Pitt": see "Pitt" in the "Printed Material" section of this list.

##### ARCHIVES DES COLONIES.

Archives des Colonies, Series C<sup>1</sup>, in the Archives Nationales, Paris. The most important sub-series for the student of the war in America are the Canada, Ile Royale, Acadie, etc., Correspondance Générale. Transcripts are in the Canadian Archives.

##### ARCHIVES DE LA MARINE.

Archives de la Marine, Paris. Series B<sup>4</sup> contains the records of the campaigns in America in 1758, 1759, and 1760. Portions of these have been copied for the Canadian Archives.

##### BELL.

The Bell Papers, consisting of a "Transcript of the Journal of General James Wolfe, 1759"; "Diary of the Gaspé Expedition"; "Journal of the Quebec Expedition"; and various memoranda relating to Louisbourg

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and Quebec. In two volumes. By Captain Thomas Bell, Secretary and Aide-de-camp to General Wolfe. Formerly in the possession of Rev. Evelyn Burnaby, Vicar of Chittoes, Chippenham, grandson of the Rev. F. Burnaby, Rector of Greenwich, and purchased from him in 1909 by Mr. Beckles Willson, formerly of Westerham, Kent. Copies are in the possession of the editor.

### BIGOT.

Conclusions apportées le 22 Août 1763. From the manuscript portion of vol. v. of "L'Afrique du Canada," in the Archives of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. This document contains the official indictment of Bigot and his associates. There is a copy in the Canadian Archives.

### BOUQUET.

Bouquet Papers: British Museum, Add. MSS. 21,631-21,660. Henri Bouquet (1719-1765) was a Swiss soldier of fortune who joined the British forces in America in 1756, and performed notable services during the Seven Years' War and the Pontiac uprising. The original collection of Bouquet's official and personal correspondence is deposited in the British Museum. Copies are in the Canadian Archives, Series A.

### BROWN.

Brown Collection of Manuscripts: British Museum, Add. MSS. 19069-19074. Copies are in the Canadian Archives, M. 651, 651A, 651B. The British Museum purchased this collection from Mr. Alexander B. Grosart on November 13, 1852.

### COLVILLE.

Journal of Vice-Admiral Alexander, 8th Lord Colville; from 1732 to 1764. In 4 volumes, containing the Journal of the *Northumberland*, and of the *Sutherland* hospital ship. Original manuscripts at one time in the care of the editor, now in the possession of Viscount Colville. The following note in the handwriting of Lord Colville is found on the last page of the first volume: "I have written these Memoirs chiefly for my own use. But it is possible, that hereafter, when I shall have taken my Departure for a better Station, they may gratify the Curiosity of some Friends, or Relations, who may be desirous to know how I steered my course, through the troubled Seas of this Life: and I have therefore taken some pains to write them plain and legible. I propose to continue writing in such another Volume as this; which I imagine will be more than sufficient, to hold all the Memorandums, and observations, which I may take in my Head to set down for the remainder of my Days.—COLVILLE."

### DRUCOUR.

Journal ou relation de l'attaque, de la défense et de la capitulation de Louisbourg. Par M. le Chevalier de Drucour. The original is in the Archives Nationales, Paris (Archives des Colonies, C<sup>II</sup>: Ile Royale, vol. 38). This is a minute diary kept by the Governor of Louisbourg;

it reproduces many of his letters, the proceedings of the military councils, &c. A copy is in the Canadian Archives, F. 171, pp. 77-210.

#### DUMAS.

Dumas Papers. A portfolio of correspondence and memoirs of the *Sieur Dumas* (see vol. i. p. 418, n. 2), the originals of which are in the Archives of the Historical Society of Montreal. Copies have been made for the Canadian Archives.

#### HALDIMAND.

Haldimand Papers: British Museum, Add. MSS. 21,561-21,892. Frederick Haldimand (1718-1791) was a friend of Henri Bouquet, and came to America at the same time. He served in the Seven Years' War, and afterwards held various military and civil positions in Canada and Florida. He was Governor-General of Canada during the greater part of the American Revolution. The original collection of Haldimand's official and personal correspondence is deposited in the British Museum. Copies are in the Canadian Archives, Series B.

#### LA FORCE.

Journal fait par le *S<sup>r</sup> LaForce*, Commandant les Bâtimens sur le lac Ontario, du Siège de Niagara. The original is in the possession of M. René de Kerallain, of Quimper, France, who has presented a copy to the editor. See vol. iii. p. 233.

#### LOGS OF THE BRITISH FLEET.

Logs of the British Fleet, 1758, 1759, 1760. The Masters' Logs of those vessels taking part in the Louisbourg and St. Lawrence expeditions. The originals are among the Admiralty Papers in the Public Record Office, London. Copies are to be found in the Canadian Archives, M. 594B-604. Portions of these Logs are published in Wood's "Logs of the Conquest of Canada." See "Wood" in the "Printed Material" section of this list.

#### LORING.

Letters of Joshua Loring and Memorial (with enclosures) of Mrs. Mary Loring: Public Record Office, London, Ad. Sec., Captains' Letters, vols. 2045-2052 and A.O. 4, bundle 47. Loring served with Amherst on Lake Champlain in 1759 and on the St. Lawrence in 1760. Copies of these papers are in the Canadian Archives.

#### LOUISBOURG.

Journal du Siège de Louisbourg. Mars-Aôut 1758, non signé: Archives Nationales, Paris (Archives des Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>, Amérique du Nord: Ile Royale, vol. 10). This diary "is an excellent record of what passed each day, and of the changing conditions, moral and physical, of the besieged." A transcript is in the Canadian Archives.

#### LOUISBOURG.

Journal du Siège de Louisbourg, non signé: Archives Nationales, Paris (Archives des Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>, Amérique du Nord: Ile Royale, vol. 10). A transcript is in the Canadian Archives. The French journals of the siege of Louisbourg agree very closely in all important particulars.

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### MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES

Ministère des Affaires Étrangères: Correspondance Politique: Angleterre. Some documents in this collection have been copied for the Canadian Archives.

### MOREAU ST. MÉRY.

Moreau St. Méry Collection: Archives Nationales, Paris (Archives des Colonies, F<sup>8</sup>). This mass of documents relating to the colonies was gathered together by Moreau de St. Méry (1750-1819), a French official, statesman, and historian. It was purchased by the French Government, and incorporated in the Archives des Colonies, deposited at the Archives Nationales. The Canadian Archives possess copies.

### MURRAY.

Despatches from General James Murray to the Hon. William Pitt, General Amherst, and others, 1760: Public Record Office, London: C.O. 5. 64. Among the enclosures is the first part of Murray's Journal. Copies are in the Canadian Archives.

### MURRAY.

Private and official correspondence of James Murray, in the possession of Mrs. Murray, Bath, England. Copies have been placed in the Canadian Archives.

### MURRAY.

Private letters relating to James Murray, in the possession of Captain the Hon. Arthur C. Murray, M.P. Copies are in the possession of the editor.

### MURRAY'S JOURNAL.

Journal from May 18 to September 17, 1760. This appears to be a continuation of the Journal kept by General Murray from September 18, 1759, to May 17, 1760, which has been published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. The manuscript volume in which this continuation is found contains also the published part of Murray's Journal, a short account of the campaign against Quebec in 1759, the Articles of Capitulation of Montreal, and an address said to have been delivered by Wolfe to his troops before the battle of the Plains. This manuscript belonged to William Paxton, Quartermaster of the Forty-Seventh regiment, who was quartered in Montreal in 1774. It is now in the possession of the editor.

### ORDRES DE L'ARMÉE FRANÇAISE.

Campagnes de 1755 à 1760 au Canada—Le livre d'ordres de l'armée française: Library of the Historical Society of Montreal. This manuscript, which contains the daily Orders of the French army in America under the Baron de Dieskau, the Marquis de Montcalm, and the Chevalier de Lévis, was purchased by the late Abbé Verreau in London in 1872. The orders of the campaign of 1755 have been published in "Mémoires de la Société Historique de Montréal," vol. 10 (1900). Copies of the orders for the later campaigns are to be found in the Canadian Archives.

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### PARKMAN.

**Parkman Papers:** Archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. A volume of extracts and *resumés* from this valuable collection, the papers of the historian Francis Parkman, is in the Canadian Archives.

### PICHON.

**Pichon Papers:** (1) Bibliothèque municipale de Vire. Manuscrits. N. A. 201 (Ancien n°. 210). "Copie de différentes lettres de M. Thomas Pichon dit Tyrel [sic] Es" lesquels ont été communiqués par M. de Catelet 1<sup>er</sup> Président des Etats de Jersey & par Elisabeth Pongdestre servante dudit Pichon. Manuscrit de la main de M. Martin Goulbot, prêtre de Vire." (2) Bibliothèque de Vire (Calvados). Manuscrits. Extrait du dossier B. 14 (ancien n°. 165). "Recueil de lettres: 1<sup>o</sup>. Lettres de Thomas Pichon . . . ; 2<sup>o</sup>. Lettres diverses . . . ; 3<sup>o</sup>. Lettres & notes diverses formant un total de 77 feuillets. . . (Provenance de Thomas Pichon.)" Copies are in the Canadian Archives.

### PUNISHMENTS.

A manuscript volume, containing records of punishments inflicted on the soldiers of a regiment which, apparently, was quartered in Quebec during the years 1778 to 1785. It was left behind in the Convent of the Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec, when that building ceased to be a military hospital in 1785, and is now in the possession of the editor.

### THOMSON.

**Journal of James Thomson, Sr., Quartermaster under Wolfe and overseer of Military Works in Quebec:** Archives of the Literary and Historical Society, Quebec. The Journal covers the period from May 13 to September 13, 1759. A copy is in the Canadian Archives.

### TOURVILLE.

**Journal de la campagne du Capricieux Commandé par Monsieur le Chevalier de Tourville, Capitaine de Vaisseau, Chevalier de l'ordre Royal et Militaire de St. Louis:** Archives Nationales, Paris (Archives des Colonies, C<sup>1</sup>, Amérique du Nord: Ile Royale, vol. 10). There is a copy in the Canadian Archives.

### WOLFE.

A Collection of Two Hundred and Thirty-two Original Letters from General James Wolfe to his parents, 1740-1759. These manuscripts are the property of the Hon. Mrs. Warde, Squerryes Court, Westerham, Kent, and are at present on loan in the British Museum. Copies are in the Canadian Archives.

### WOLFE'S JOURNAL.

Journal kept by Wolfe at Quebec, found among the Bell Papers. Note in the handwriting of Captain Thomas Bell: "An exact and faithful copy of General Wolfe's Journal from the 13th May 1759 to the

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16th of August 1759 [the remainder of his Journal to near the day on which he was killed (13th Sept.) was destroyed by himself before the battle]—also some loose hints and part of a Journal of his Expedition to Gaspée faithfully copied from one of his memorandum Books—I delivered on my arrival in England the originals above mentioned, by Mrs. Wolfe's desire, to a Mrs. Scott who lived with Mrs. Wolfe. Mrs. Wolfe sending me word she could not see me. Gen. Wolfe by his will left all his Books and Papers to Colonel Carleton, but when his books and many papers were sent to the Colonel, the above-mentioned originals were not sent.—THO. BELL." A copy of this Journal and a photograph of the above note were obtained by the editor from Mr. Beckles Willson in 1912.

### II. PRINTED MATERIAL<sup>1</sup>

#### ALLIES.

"Une Ville d'Etats: Pézenas aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Molière à Pézenas." Par A. P. Allies. Paris: A la librairie Flammarion. 1908. See vol. iii. p. 351.

#### ARMY LISTS.

"A List of the General and Field-Officers, As they Rank in the Army. Of the Officers, in the several Regiments of Horse, Dragoons, and Foot. on the British and Irish Establishments: with The Dates of their Commissions, as they Rank in each Corps, and as they Rank in the Army. The Royal Regiment of Artillery, Irish Artillery, Engineers, the Marines, and Independent Companies. Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, of His Majesty's Garrisons at Home and Abroad, with their Allowances, and the Officers on Half Pay, &c. Complete to the Tenth of February. London: Printed for J. Millan, opposite the Admiralty-Office. M.DCC.LVIII."

Similar lists were published each year, but the earlier numbers are now very scarce. The collection in the Canadian Archives begins with the year 1758. It has been used extensively by the editor in the preparation of this edition of Knox's Journals.

#### BIGOT.

"Report concerning Canadian Archives for the Year 1904. (*Being an Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Agriculture.*) Printed by Order of Parliament. Ottawa Printed by S. E. Dawson, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty 1905." Appendix G.—Papers *re* Bigot, Vergor, and Villeray.

#### BIGOT.

"Mémoire Pour Messire François Bigot, ci-devant Intendant de Justice, Police, Finance & Marine en Canada, Accusé: Contre *Monsieur le Procureur-Général du Roi en la Commission, Accusateur.* Premier Partie, Contenant l'Histoire de l'Administration du sieur Bigot dans la Colonie, & des Réflexions générales sur cette Administration. Seconde

<sup>1</sup> The exact punctuation of the original titles has been retained.

Partie, Contenant la discussion & le détail des Chefs d'accusation. A Paris, De l'Imprimerie de P. Al. le Prieur, Imprimeur du Roi, rue Saint-Jacques. M.DCC.LXIII."

BOISHÉBERT.

"Mémoire pour le Sieur de Boishébert, Capitaine, Chevalier de Saint Louis, ci-devant Commandant à l'Acadie. Paris, de l'Imprimerie de Moreau, 1 rue Galande, 1760." "Le Marquis de Montcalm, qu'il rencontra sur le Pont Saint Charles, lui demanda quelles étoient les dispositions des ennemis. Il lui confirma ce que ce général avoit appris de ce débarquement, & lui dit qu'il les avoit vu des fenêtres de l'hôpital se déployer sur les hauteurs de Québec. Allez donc, lui dit cet officier général, a Beauport, pour qu'on fasse partir promptement toutes les troupes, & qu'elles se hâtent de me joindre."—*Extract from the Mémoire.*

BORGIA'S HOUSE.

"La maison de Borgia—Premier poste de Wolfe à la bataille des Plaines d'Abraham—Où était-elle située? Par P.-B. Casgrain." In "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," Second Series, vol. x., Section I, pp. 45-62.

BOUCHETTE.

"A Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada, with Remarks upon Upper Canada, and on the relative connexion of both provinces with The United States of America. By Joseph Bouchette, Esq. Surveyor-General of Lower Canada and Lieutenant-Colonel C.M. Embellished by Several Views, Plans of Harbours, Battles, &c. London: Printed for the Author, and published by W. Faden, Geographer to His Majesty and the Prince Regent, Charing-Cross. 1815."

BOUGAINVILLE.

Correspondance de Bougainville. Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. iv. pp. 1-141. These letters form a part of an important collection of documents relating to Canada in the possession of Madame la Comtesse de Saint-Sauveur Bougainville.

BOUGAINVILLE.

"Les Français au Canada. La Jeunesse de Bougainville et La Guerre de Sept Ans. Paris, 1896." By René de Kerallain. The author has an intimate acquaintance with Canadian history, and is well known for his reviews of works on Canadian subjects. He is a relative of the Bougainville family, and, having made a critical study of the Bougainville papers, has produced a work of great value. He devotes considerable space to a criticism of the publications of the Abbé Casgrain.

BRITISH MAGAZINE.

"The British Magazine or Monthly Repository for Gentlemen and Ladies. Volume I. London. Printed for H. Payne at Dryden's Head in Paternoster Row." (1760. Also vol. II, 1761.) This periodical contains several articles relating to the war in America.

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### CADET.

"Un Munitionnaire du Roi a la Nouvelle France Joseph Cadet (1756-1781) Par M. Alfred Barbier. . . . Poitiers Imprimerie Blais et Roy. . . . 1900." See vol. ii. p. 165 n.

### CADET.

"La Baronnie de la Touche-D'Avrigny et le Duché de Chatellerault, par M. Alfred Barbier." In "Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Tome IX. . . . Poitiers. . . . 1887," pp. 235-382. In the "Pièces justificatives" of this study are to be found several valuable documents relating to Cadet and Bigot. Some of these are reprinted in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 327-362.

### CALCRAFT.

Letter of Capt. James Calcraft. Quebec, Sept. 20 (1759). Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. vi. pp. 142-146. First published in the "Scots Magazine," vol. xxi. p. 552, October 1759.

### CARD MONEY.

"The Canadian Card Money. By R. W. M'Lachlan." In the "Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal," October 1910, 3rd Series, vol. vii. No. 4.

### CARTIER.

"Jacques Cartier and his Four Voyages to Canada An Essay with Historical, Explanatory and Philological Notes By Hiram B. Stephens, B.C.L. Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co., Publishers 232 St. James Street." See vol. ii. p. 328 n.

### CASGRAIN.

"Guerre du Canada. 1756-1760. Montcalm et Lévis par L'Abbé H.-R. Casgrain." Two volumes. Quebec: Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère, 30, Rue de la Fabrique. 1891.

### CASGRAIN.

"Histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, par l'Abbé H.-R. Casgrain. . . . Québec: Léger Brousseau, Imprimeur-Libraire. 1878."

### CENSUSES.

"Censuses of Canada. 1665-1871. Statistics of Canada. Volume IV. Ottawa: Printed by I. B. Taylor, 29, 31 & 33 Rideau Street. 1876."

### CHARLEVOIX.

"Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France avec Le Journal Historique d'un Voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique Septentrionale. Par le P. De Charlevoix, de la Compagnie de Jesus. . . . A Paris, Chez Rolin Fils, Libraire, Quai des Augustins, à S. Athanase. M.DCC.XLIV. Avec approbation et privilège du Roi." Three volumes.

### CHIEN D'OR.

"The House of the Golden Dog in Quebec By Philippe-Baby Casgrain, K.C." [n.d.] See vol. iii. p. 352.



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### CONNECTICUT.

"The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut . . . Transcribed and edited in accordance with a resolution of the General Assembly. By Charles J. Hoadly, State Librarian. Hartford: Press of the Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company." Fifteen volumes: 1850-1890. See vol. i. p. 376 n.

### CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS.

"Canadian Archives Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada 1759-1791. Selected and Edited with Notes by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty. Printed by Order of Parliament. Ottawa Printed by S. E. Dawson, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty 1907."

### CORBETT.

"England in the Seven Years' War. A Study in Combined Strategy. By Julian S. Corbett, LL.M. Lecturer in History to the Royal Naval War College. In Two Volumes. With Maps and Plans. Longmans, Green and Co. 39 Paternoster Row, London. New York, Bombay, and Calcutta 1907."

### DAWSON.

"A Discourse, delivered at Quebec, in the Chappel belonging to the Convent of the Ursulins, September 27th, 1759; occasioned by the Success of our Arms in the Reduction of that Capital; at the request of Brigadier General Monckton, and by Order of Vice-Admiral Saunders, Commander in Chief. By the Reverend Eli Dawson, Chaplain of His Majesty's Ship Sterling-Castle, on Board of which the Vice-Admiral's hoisted his Flag, during the Siege. London: Printed for R. Griffiths, opposite Somerset-House in the Strand. MDCCCLX." This pamphlet is very rare. A reprint from the copy in the British Museum was published in the Battlefield Series, No. 4 (1901), by the nuns of the Franciscan Convent at Quebec, 1901.

### DE RAMEZAY.

"Mémoire du Sieur de Ramezay, Commandant à Québec, Au sujet de la reddition de cette ville, le 18 Septembre 1759, D'après un manuscrit aux Archives du Bureau de la Marine, à Paris. Publié sous la direction de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec. Des Presses de John Lovell, Québec. 1861." The original manuscript is now in the Archives Nationales, Paris (Archives des Colonies, C<sup>II</sup>, Canada: Correspondance Générale, vol. 105-3), and a copy is in the Canadian Archives. This mémoire was written by De Ramezay to justify himself against charges made by the Marquis de Vaudreuil and others.

### DESANDROUINS.

"Le Maréchal de Camp Desandrouins 1729-1792. Guerre du Canada 1756-1760. Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine 1780-1782. Par l'Abbé Gabriel. . . . Verdun Imprimerie Renvé-Lallemant, Rue Saint-Paul, 15. 1887."

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### DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY.

"Dictionary of National Biography Edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. . . . New York The Macmillan Company London Smith, Elder, & Co." Sixty-three, and three supplementary volumes: 1885-1901. Constant use has been made of this valuable work.

### DIONNE.

"N. E. Dionne—La Nouvelle-France de Cartier à Champlain 1540-1603. Québec Typographie de C. Darveau 82 à 84, rue de la Montagne. 1891."

### DOUGHTY.

"The Fortress of Quebec, 1608-1903. With illustrations. By A. G. Doughty. . . . Quebec: Dussault & Proulx, 1904."

### DOUGHTY AND DIONNE.

"Quebec Under Two Flags A Brief history of the City From its foundation until the present time By A. G. Doughty and N. E. Dionne. With Illustrations. . . . Quebec The Quebec News Company. 1903."

### DOUGLAS.

"A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North America. By William Douglas, M.D. Two Volumes. London, 1760." See vol. i. p. 366.

### DU CALVET.

"The Case of Peter Du Calvet, Esq. Of Montreal in the Province of Quebec. Containing, (Amongst other Things worth Notice,) An Account of the long and severe Imprisonment he suffered in the said Province by the Order of General Haldimand, the present Governour of the same, without the least Offence, or other lawful Cause, whatever. To which is prefixed, A Dedication of it in the French Language, (Mr. Du Calvet not understanding English) To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Humbly imploring the Protection and Countenance of his Majesty's Royal Justice in his Endeavours to procure some Compensation for the Injuries he has received. London, Printed in the Year M.DCC.LXXXIV." See vol. i. p. 289 n.; vol. ii. p. 52 n.

### DUSSIEUX.

"Le Canada sous la Domination Française d'après les Archives de la Marine et de la Guerre Par L. Dussieux. Deuxième Édition. Paris Jacques Lecoivre, Libraire-Éditeur Rue du Vieux-Colombier, 29. 1862." The "Pièces Justificatives" include many valuable documents from the Archives in Paris.

### EMERSON.

"Diary kept at the Siege of Louisbourg March 15-August 14, 1745 By the Rev. Joseph Emerson of Pepperell, Mass. With Notes and an Introduction by Samuel A. Green Cambridge: John Wilson and Son. University Press. 1910." See vol. i. p. 173 n.

## ENTICK.

"The General History of the Late War: containing it's Rise, Progress, and Event, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. And exhibiting The State of the Belligerent Powers at the Commencement of the War; their Interests and Objects in it's Continuation; and Remarks on the Measures, which led Great Britain to Victory and Conquest. Interspersed with The Characters of the able and disinterested Statesmen, to whose Wisdom and Integrity, and of the Heroes, to whose Courage and Conduct, we are indebted for that Naval and Military Success, which is not to be equalled in the Annals of this, or of any other Nation. And with Accurate Descriptions of the Seat of War, the Nature and Importance of our Conquests, and of the most remarkable Battles by Sea and Land. Illustrated with A Variety of Heads, Plans, Maps, and Charts, Designed and Engraved by the best Artists. By the Rev. John Entick, M.A., And other Gentlemen. The Second Edition, Corrected. . . . London: Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly, in the Poultry; And John Millan, at Charing-Cross. M.DCC.LXV." Five volumes.

## FISHERIES.

"U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries. George M. Bowers, Commissioner. Part XXVII. Report of the Commissioner for the year ending June 30, 1901. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1902." Pp. 227-240: "An annotated List of the Fishes known to occur in the St. Lawrence River. By Baron Warren Evermann and William Converse Kendall." See vol. ii. p. 328.

## FOLIGNÉ.

"Journal des faits arrivés à L'Armée de Quebec Capital dans l'Amérique Septentrional pendant la Campagne de l'Année 1759. Par M. de Foligné. From the original in the Archives de la Marine, Paris. Printed . . . 1901, for A. G. Doughty." Also published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. iv. pp. 163-217. M. de Foligné was a naval officer who, during the siege of Quebec, commanded one of the principal batteries of the town.

## FORTESCUE.

"A History of The British Army. By The Hon. J. W. Fortescue. . . . Macmillan and Co., Limited St. Martin's Street, London." Seven volumes have appeared, 1910-1912.

## FORT FRONTENAC.

"A Letter to the Right Honourable William Pitt, Esq; from an Officer at Fort Frontenac. London: Printed for J. Fleming, opposite *Norfolk Street*, in the *Strand*. MDCCLIX."

## GAGNON.

"Chansons Populaires du Canada Recueillies et Publiées avec Annotations, Etc. Par Ernest Gagnon. . . . Québec: Robert Morgan, Éditeur. 1880." Second Edition. See vol. ii. p. 313.

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##### GANONG.

"Additions and Corrections to Monographs on the Place-nomenclature, Cartography, Historic Sites, Boundaries and Settlement-origins of the Province of New Brunswick. By W. F. Ganong, M.A., Ph.D." Published in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," Second Series, vol. xii. (1906), Section II, pp. 3-157.

##### GANONG.

"The Cartography of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, from Cartier to Champlain. By W. F. Ganong, A.M." Published in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," vol. vii. (1889), Section II, pp. 17-58.

##### GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

"The *Gentleman's Magazine* and Historical Chronicle. Volume xxix. For the Year M.DCC.LIX. By Sylvanus Urban, *Gent.* London: Printed for D. Henry, and R. Cave, at St. John's Gate." The contemporary numbers of this magazine, and in particular those for the year 1759, contain many interesting articles relating to the war in America. A complete set of "The Gentleman's Magazine" is in the Canadian Archives.

##### GESNER.

"New Brunswick; with Notes for Emigrants. . . . By Abraham Gesner, Esq. . . . London: Simmonds & Ward, 6, Barge Yard, Bucklersbury. 1847"

##### GIBSON.

Letter from James Gibson to Governor Lawrence: "Bason of Quebec, 1st Aug. 1759," with a postscript dated August 10th. Published in "Selections from Public Documents in the Province of Nova Scotia," pp. 452-459, and in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 61-69. The original is in the Archives of Nova Scotia. James Gibson, a gentleman volunteer, was with the expedition against Louisbourg under Pepperell, and published an account of the siege in London in 1745. He was also with the army before Quebec in 1759.

##### GORDON.

"Copy of Journal kept by — Gordon, One of the Officers engaged in the Siege of Louisbourg under Boscawen and Amherst, in 1758. Certified by his son, Major H. W. Gordon [father of the celebrated General Gordon]." Published in "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," vol. v. pp. 97-157.

##### GRAND MAGAZINE.

"The Grand Magazine of Magazines, or Universal Register, . . . MDCCCLIX. London: Printed for T. Kinnersly, in St. Paul's Church-Yard." This volume contains an "Account of the Proceeding of the Fleet and Army before Quebec," and many other references to the campaign in America.

## GRANT.

Letter from Lieutenant James Grant to Colonel Bouquet, dated "Camp at Crown point Sept. 15th, 1759." Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. vi. pp. 138-140. The original is among the Bouquet Papers (*q.v.*).

## HAWKINS.

"Hawkins's Picture of Quebec; with Historical Recollections. Quebec: Printed for the proprietor by Neilson & Cowan. 1834."

## HENDERSON.

Letter from James Henderson to his Uncle. Quebec, October 7, 1759. Published in "Notes and Gleanings," vol. ii., April 15, 1889. Accompanying the letter was a memorandum stating that it had been copied from the original in the early part of the century by a lady then residing in Devonshire. A manuscript copy of the text as published is in the Canadian Archives.

## HENNEPIN.

"Nouvelle Decouverte d'un tres grand Pays Situé dans l'Amerique, entre Le Nouveau Mexique, et La Mer Glaciale . . . Le tout dédié à Sa Majesté Britannique Guillaume III. Par le R. P. Louis Hennepin, Missionnaire Recollect & Notaire Apostolique. A Utrecht, Chez Guillaume Broedelet, Marchand Libraire. MDCXCVII." See vol i. p. 387.

## HENNEPIN.

"Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que L'Europe Avec les reflexions des entreprises du Sieur de la Salle, sur les Mines de St. Barbe, &c. . . Avec approbation & dédié à Sa Majesté Guillaume III. Roy de la grande Bretagne par le R. P. Louis Hennepin, Missionnaire Recollect & Notaire Apostolique. A Utrecht: Chez Antoine Schouten, Marchand Libraire. 1698."

## HERVEY.

"Journals of the Hon. William Hervey, In North America and Europe, From 1755 to 1814; with Order Books at Montreal, 1760-1763. With Memoir and Notes. Suffolk Green Books. No. XIV. Bury St. Edmund's: Paul & Mathew, Butter Market. 1906."

## HOLMES.

Letter of Admiral Charles Holmes, dated "Lowestoft off Foulon in the River St. Laurence, above Quebec 18 Sept. 1759." Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. iv. pp. 295-299. The original is in the British Museum, Add. 32895, f. 449. This is the earliest official account of the battle of the Plains.

## INTENDANTS.

"Les Intendants de la Nouvelle France. Notes sur leurs familles avec portraits et armoiries, par M. Régis Roy." Published in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," Second Series, vol. ix. (1903), Section I., pp. 65-107.

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### JEFFERYS.

"The Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America. . . . Illustrated by *Maps and Plans of the principal Places*, Collected from the best Authorities, and engraved by T. Jefferys, Geographer to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. . . . London, Printed for Thomas Jefferys at Charing-Cross. MDCCCLX." The plans contained in this rare work are of the greatest importance. Owing to the author's position they may be regarded as official.

### JESUIT RELATIONS.

"The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791. The original French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes, illustrated by Portraits, Maps, and Fac-similes. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. . . . Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, Publishers." Seventy-three volumes: 1896-1901.

### JOHNSON.

"The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart., by William L. Stone. . . . Albany: J. Munsell, 78 State Street. 1865." Two volumes.

### JOHNSTONE.

"Memoirs of the Chevalier de Johnstone: in three volumes: translated from the original French M.S. of the Chevalier. By Charles Winchester, Advocate, Aberdeen. Aberdeen: D. Wyllie & Son. . . ." 1870-1871. A translation of the first two volumes went through three editions in the early part of the nineteenth century, the last being by Longman & Co., London, in 1822. There is in the Canadian Archives a copy of the original manuscript, which was in the possession of the late Hugh Fraser Leslie, of Powis, in Aberdeenshire. The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, in its Second Series of Historical Documents, published three narratives attributed to the Chevalier de Johnstone, said to be copied from manuscripts in the French War Archives. Paris: The Campaign of Louisbourg, 1750-1758; Dialogues of the Dead [or, A Dialogue in Hades]; and The Campaign of 1760 in Canada. The first of these is not to be found in the Leslie Manuscript, the title-page only being given. The Chevalier de Johnstone was a Scottish Jacobite who had been aide-de-camp to Lord George Murray and to Prince Charles Edward during the rising of '45. Having escaped to the Continent, he entered the French military service, and was sent to Ile Royale. In 1758, when Louisbourg was about to fall, he escaped to Canada, where he was successively aide-de-camp to Montcalm and to Lévis. The "Mémoires" give an account of the Chevalier's adventures in Scotland and on the continent of Europe, as well as in America. They were deposited in the Scots College in Paris, from which they were brought to England, and finally were acquired by John Leslie of Powis, a collateral descendant of the Chevalier.

## KALM.

"Travels into North America; containing Its Natural History, and A circumstantial Account of its Plantations and Agriculture in general, with the Civil, Ecclesiastical and Commercial State of the Country. . . . By Peter Kalm, Professor of Oeconomy in the University of *Abo* in Swedish *Finland*, and Member of the *Swedish* Royal Academy of Sciences. Translated into English By John Reinhold Forster, F.A.S. . . . Warrington: Printed by William Eyres." Three volumes: 1870-1871. See vol. ii. p. 43 n.

## LE CLERCQ.

"New Relation of Gaspesia With the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians By Father Chrestien Le Clercq Translated and Edited, with a Reprint of the Original, by William F. Ganong, Ph.D. Professor in Smith College. Toronto The Champlain Society 1910."

## LEMOINE.

"The Scot in New France, 1535-1880." By J. M. LeMoine. Published in the "Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec," Sessions of 1880-1881.

## LEMOINE.

"Dictionnaire Français-Algonquin rédigé par Geo. Lemoine, Ptre, O.M.I. Chicoutimi G. Delisle, Imprimeur, Bureaux du journal 'Le Travailleur' 1909."

## LÉVIS.

"Le Maréchal de Lévis, Gouverneur-général de l'Artois (1765-1787). Par le Comte Gustave de Hauteclocque, Membre de l'Académie d'Arras de la Commission des Antiquités du Pas-de-Calais, &c. Arras: Imprimerie Rohard-Courtin, F. Guyot succr. M.D.CCCC1."

## LÉVIS.

"Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis." Edited by the Abbé H.-R. Casgrain; contains the following volumes:

(1) "Journal des Campagnes du Chevalier De Lévis en Canada De 1756 à 1760. Montréal C. O. Beauchemin & Fils, Libraires-Imprimeurs 256 et 258, rue Saint-Paul. 1889."

(2) "Lettres du Chevalier de Lévis concernant la Guerre du Canada (1756-1760) Montréal C. O. Beauchemin & Fils, Lib.-Imprimeurs 256 et 258, rue Saint-Paul. 1889."

(3) "Lettres de la Cour de Versailles au Baron de Dieskau, au Marquis de Montcalm et au Chevalier de Lévis Publiées sous la direction de l'abbé H.-R. Casgrain. . . . Québec Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère, 30, Rue de la Fabrique. 1890."

(4) "Lettres et Pièces Militaires Instructions, Ordres, Mémoires, Plans de Campagne et de Défense 1756-1760 . . . Québec Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, Rue de la Fabrique. 1891."

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(5) "Lettres de M. de Bourlamaque au Chevalier de Lévis . . . Québec: Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1891."

(6) "Lettres du Marquis de Montcalm au Chevalier de Lévis . . . Québec: Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1894."

(7) "Journal du Marquis de Montcalm durant ses Campagnes en Canada de 1756 à 1759 . . . Québec Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1895." Many portions of this Journal appear to have been copied by the original compiler from the manuscript of Bougainville. Others seem due to the aide-de-camp Marcel. It is often difficult to determine who is the author.

(8) "Lettre du Marquis de Vaudreuil au Chevalier de Lévis . . . Québec Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1895."

(9) "Lettres de l'Intendant Bigot au Chevalier de Lévis . . . Québec Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1895."

(10) "Lettres de Divers Particuliers au Chevalier de Lévis . . . Québec Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1895."

(11) "Guerre du Canada. Relations et Journaux de Différentes Expéditions faites durant les années 1755-56-57-58-59-60 . . . Québec Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1895."

(12) "Table Analytique de la Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis . . . Québec: Imprimerie de L.-J. Demers & Frère 30, rue de la Fabrique. 1895."

### LONDON MAGAZINE.

"The London Magazine or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer. . . Printed for R. Baldwin. The Rose in Pater Noster Row." Vols. xxvii.-xxix.: 1758-1760.

### LOUDON.

"Remarks upon a Letter published in the London Chronicle, or *Universal Evening Post*, No. 115. Containing an Enquiry into the Causes of the Failure of the late Expedition against Cape Breton. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament. London: Printed for M. Cooper in Pater-noster-Row. MDCCLVII."

### LOUISBOURG.

"An Authentic Account of the Reduction of Louisbourg in June and July 1758. By a Spectator. London: Printed for W. Owen, near Temple-Bar. 1758." A very valuable journal of the siege.

### MACKELLAR.

"Report on Quebec by Major Patrick Mackellar." See vol. iii. pp. 151-160. Previously published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. ii. pp. 271-280. The Report, dated July 12, 1757, is addressed to the Lords of Plantations. The Report and the Plan which accompanied it were in .



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possession of Wolfe during the siege of Quebec. An original manuscript is in the possession of the editor.

### MALARTIC.

"Journal des Campagnes au Canada de 1755 à 1760 par le Comte de Maurès de Malartic Lieutenant Général des Armées du Roi Gouverneur des Îles de France et de Bourbon (1730-1800) *publié par son arrière petit-neveu* Le Comte Gabriel des Maurès de Malartic et par Paul Gaffarel . . . Paris Librairie Plon E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, Éditeurs Rue Garancière, 10."

### MANDEMENTS.

"Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Évêques de Québec Publiés par Mgr. H. Têtu et l'abbé C.-O. Gagnon. . . Québec Imprimerie Générale A. Côté et Cie." Four volumes: 1887-1888.

### MANTE.

"The History of the Late War in North America, and the Islands of the West Indies, including the Campaigns of MDCCCLIII and MDCCCLIV against His Majesty's Indian Enemies. By Thomas Mante, Assistant Engineer during the Siege of the Havanna, and Major of a Brigade in the Campaign of 1764. London: Printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell in the Strand. MDCCCLXXII."

### MÉMOIRES SUR LE CANADA.

"Mémoires sur le Canada, depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760. En trois parties; avec Cartes et Plans Lithographiés. Publiés sous la direction de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec. (Ré-impression.) Québec: Imprimerie de Middleton & Dawson. 1873." The first impression was published in 1838. The manuscript, which bears the title "Mémoires du S— de C— contenant l'histoire du Canada durant la guerre, et sous le Gouvernement anglois," was presented to the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec by Colonel Christie.

### MONCKTON.

"Report of the Proceedings of the Troops on the Expedition up St. John's River in the Bay of Fundy under the Command of Colonel Monckton." Published in "Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society," No. 3 (1904), pp. 165-175; . . . "Report concerning Canadian Archives for the year 1905," vol. . . . Appendix A, Part III. pp. 236-241. The original of Monckton's . . . is in the Public Record Office, London, C.O. 5:54. A copy, from which the notes to the present work have been taken, is in the Canadian Archives.

### MONCKTON.

Original Letters in the possession of the Right Honourable the Viscount Galway (Baron Monckton) of Serlby Hall, York-shire. Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. vi. pp. 63-72. Among these are letters from Wolfe, Amherst, Saunders, and others to Brigadier-General Monckton.

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##### MONCKTON.

Letter of Brigadier-General Robert Monckton to the Hon. William Pitt, Rive St. Laurence, Quebec, 8th October 1759. Enclosed in this letter are a Return of the Casualties during the siege of Quebec, an Account of the French Ordnance captured at Quebec (signed by Major Godwin), and a Mémoire from the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the Sieur de Boishébert. Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. vi. pp. 127-137. The originals are in the Public Record Office, London, C.O. 5:51. Copies are in the Canadian Archives.

##### MONCRIEF.

"First Number of the Corps Papers, and Memoires on Military Subjects; Compiled from Contributions of the Officers of the Royal and East India Company's Engineers. Printed for circulation among Subscribers. With map and numerous illustrations. London: John Weale, High Holborn. MDCCCXLVIII." Pages 3 to 20 contain a description of the expedition in 1759 "by an engineer upon that expedition," said in a foot-note to be Major Moncrief. The Journal of Major Moncrief is reprinted in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 33-58. The same Journal, with slight variations, was published by the late George Desbarats about thirty years ago in the "Dominion Illustrated." At that time it was claimed to be identical with the Journal of Mr. James Thompson.

##### MONTCALM.

"Le Marquis de Montcalm (1712-1759) par Thomas Chapais. Quebec J. P. Garneau, libraire-éditeur 47, rue Buade. 1911."

##### MONTRESOR.

Journals of Col. James Montresor, 1757-1759. Journals of Capt. John Montresor, 1757-1778. Published in "Collections of the New York Historical Society for the year 1881. New York. Printed for the Society. MDCCCLXXXII." Captain John Montresor's Journal of the Siege of Quebec is also published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. iv. pp. 301-334.

##### MURDOCH.

"A History of Nova-Scotia or Acadie. By Beamish Murdoch, Esq., Q.C. . . . Halifax, N.S.: James Barnes, Printer and Publisher." Three volumes: 1865-1867.

##### MURRAY.

"Governor Murray's Journal of Quebec. From 18th September, 1759, to 25th May, 1760. Public Record Office, America and West Indies, vol. 99." Published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in its "Third Series of Historical Documents," 1871. A manuscript copy is in the Canadian Archives.

##### MURRAY.

Ordinance establishing Military Courts "By His Excellency Mr. James Murray, Governor of Quebec, etc." Dated October 31, 1860.

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Published in "Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada 1759-1791," pp. 33-36.

### MURRAY.

General Murray's Report of the State of the Government of Quebec in Canada, June 5, 1769. Published in "Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791," pp. 37-61. This Report was also printed privately for A. G. Doughty in Quebec, 1902.

### NEW YORK COLONIAL DOCUMENTS.

"Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York; Procured in Holland, England and France, by John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., Agent [of the State of New York]. . . . Edited by E. H. O'Callaghan, M.D., LL.D. With a General Introduction by the Agent. . . . Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, Printers." Eleven volumes: 1836-1861. Four supplementary volumes were published later. Volume X. contains translations of many important French documents. Volume XI. consists of a very useful index.

### NOVA SCOTIA.

"Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, relating to the Colonization of New Scotland, and the Institution of the Order of Knight Baronets of Nova Scotia. 1621-1638. The Bannatyne Club. Edinburgh: M.DCCC.LXV.II." See vol. i. p. 360 n.

### NOVA SCOTIA.

"A General Description of the Province of Nova Scotia, and a Report of the present State of the Defences, with Observations leading to the further growth and Security of this Colony, done by Lieutenant Colonel Morse, Chief Engineer in America, upon a Tour of the Province in the Autumn of the Year 1783, and the Summer, 1784. Under the Orders and Instructions of His Excellency, Sir Guy Carleton, General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America, given at Head Quarters at New York, the 28th Day of July 1783." Published in "Report on Canadian Archives, 1884," pp. xxvii.-lix.

### NOVA SCOTIA DOCUMENTS.

"Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia. Published under a Resolution of the House of Assembly passed March 15, 1865. Edited by Thomas B. Akins, D.C.L., Commissioner of Public Records. The Translations from the French by Benj. Curren, D.C.L. Halifax, N.S., Charles Annand, Publisher. 1869."

### PALAIS DE JUSTICE DE QUÉBEC.

"Rapport Général du Commissaire des Travaux Publics de la Province de Québec 1897. Imprimé par ordre de la Législature. Québec: Charles Pageau, Imprimeur de sa Majesté la Reine." 1897. "Appendice No. 4. Palais de Justice de Québec: Notes sur le Terrain et l'Edifice, par Ernest Gagnon."

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### PALAIS EPISCOPAL DE QUÉBEC.

"Histoire du Palais Episcopal de Québec par M<sup>re</sup>. Henri Têtu Prêlat de la Maison de Sa Sainteté, Procureur de l'Archevêché de Québec. Québec Librairie Montmorency-Laval Pruneau & Kirouac, libraires-éditeurs 46 rue de la Fabrique. 1896." See vol. ii. p 206 n.

### PARKMAN.

"Montcalm and Wolfe. France and England in North America. Part Seventh. By Francis Parkman. In three volumes. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1897." This excellent work has become the standard history of the conquest of Canada. There are many editions of Parkman's writings: that used by the editor is known as the "Champlain" edition.

### PARKMAN.

"The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada. By Francis Parkman. In three volumes. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1898."

### PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES.

"Pennsylvania Archives. Selected and Arranged from Original Documents in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, conformably to Acts of the General Assembly, February 15, 1851, & March 1, 1852. By Samuel Hazard. Commencing 1756. Volume III. [1756-1760]. Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Severns & Co. 1853." This volume contains many important documents relating to the campaign against Fort Duquesne and to relations with the Indians.

### PICHON.

"Lettres et Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Naturelle, Civile et Politique Du Cap Breton, depuis Son établissement jusqu'à la reprise de cette Isle par les Anglois en 1758. A La Haye, chez Pierre Gosse. *Et se trouve* A Londres, chez Jean Nourse, MDCCLX." Attributed to Thomas Pichon.

### PICQUET.

"André Chagny. Un Défenseur de la 'Nouvelle-France.' Francois Picquet 'Le Canadien' (1708-1781). Contribution à l'Histoire du Canada pendant les vingt-cinq dernières années de la domination française. Montréal Librairie Beauchemin *Rue Saint-Jacques, 79*—Paris Plon-Nourrit et Cie *Rue Garancière, 8*—Lyon Librairie Emmanuel Vitte *Place Bellecour, 3*. 1913." See vol. iii. p. 225 n.

### PITT.

"Correspondence of William Pitt when Secretary of State with Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commissioners in America. Edited under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America by Gertrude Selwyn Kimball Two volumes . . . New York The Macmillan Company London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1906."

## PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

"The Plains of Abraham. Notes, Original and Selected, by Lt. Colonel Beatson, Royal Engineers. Gibraltar: Printed at the Garrison Library Press. 1858." With Plan. The first eleven pages refer to the Plains and the remainder of the book deals with the life of Montcalm. It contains also a plan of the property of Abraham Martin. The book is exceedingly rare. There is a copy in the Canadian Archives.

## PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

"Les Plaines d'Abraham Endroit Historique à Conserver. . . . Conférences par P.-B. Casgrain, Président de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec, données au Collège Morrin, les 14 décembre 1899 et 8 février 1900." Published in "Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec," 1898-1900, pp. 27-109.

## POUCHOT.

"Memoir upon the Late War in North America, between the French and English, 1755-60; followed by Observations upon the Theatre of Actual War, and by New Details concerning the Manners and Customs of the Indians; with Topographical Maps. By M. — Pouchot, *Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis; former Captain of the Regt. of Bearn; Commandant of Forts Niagara and Levis in Canada.* Translated and Edited by Franklin B. Hough. With additional Notes and Illustrations. . . . Printed for W. Elliot Woodward, Roxbury, Mass. 1866." Two volumes. The French edition bears the following title: "Mémoires de la dernière Guerre de l'Amérique Septentrionale, entre la France et l'Angleterre, suivis d'Observations, dont plusieurs sont relatives au théâtre actuel de la guerre, de nouveaux détails sur les mœurs les usages des Sauvages, avec des Cartes Topographiques. Par M. Pouchot, Chevalier de l'ordre Royal & Militaire de St. Louis, ancien Capitaine au Régiment de Béarn, Commandant des forts de Niagara de Levis, en Canada. Yverdon, M.DCC.LXXXI."

## QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham By A. Doughty in collaboration with G. W. Parmelee. In six volumes, with Plans, Portraits and Views. Quebec Dussault & Proulx 1901." This work is referred to in the notes as "Siege of Quebec."

## QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"A Journal of the Siege of Quebec. To which is annexed, A Correct Plan of the Environs of Quebec, and of the Battle fought on the 13th September, 1759: Together with a particular Detail of The French Lines and Batteries, And also the Encampments, Batteries and Attacks of the British Army, And the Investiture of that City under the Command of Vice Admiral Saunders, Major General Wolfe, Brigadier General Monckton, And Brigadier General Townshend. Drawn from the Original Surveys taken by the Engineers of the Army. Engraved by Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to His Majesty." (1760.) Reprinted in "Siege of Quebec,"

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vol. iv. pp. 259-278. The author of the Journal is evidently Townshend, and the plan has been identified as having been made from the surveys sent by Townshend to Pitt in October 1759. The original print is very scarce; a copy is in the Canadian Archives.

##### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"An Accurate and Authentic Journal of the Siege of Quebec, 1759. By a Gentleman in an eminent Station on the Spot. London: Printed for J. Robinson, at the Golden Lion in Ludgate-Street MDCCLIX." Reprinted in "Siege of Quebec," vol. iv. pp. 279-294. A part of this Journal appears to have been written on the morning of September 13, 1759, while the troops were in motion.

##### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"A Journal of the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence." Literary and Historical Society of Quebec: Historical Documents, Fourth Series, 1875. The manuscript was found amongst the papers of the Allsopp family, and presented to J. M. LeMoine, President of the Society.

##### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"A Journal of the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence: containing a true and most Particular account of the transactions of the Fleet and Army under the Command of Admiral Saunders and General Wolfe from the time of their Embarkation at Louisbourg till after the Surrender of Quebeck, by the Serjeant-Major of Gen. Hopson's Grenadiers. Boston: Printed and sold by Fowle and Draper, at their Printing-Office in Marlborough Street. 1759." Reprinted in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 1-11. This Journal seems in many respects to be similar to that published by the New York "Mercury," December 31, 1759. There are, however, many additional facts of importance which are not included in the "Mercury," for example, page 9: "The same day we went to get our plunder, which we discovered on our March round the Island, consisting of Gowns, Shirts, petticoats, Stockings, Coats and Waistcoats, Breeches, Shoes, and many other articles too tedious to mention, and some Cash; which, if the Things had been sold to the value, would [have] fetch'd upwards of 500*l.* Ster." The Journal runs from June 1 to September 19, 1759. There is a copy of the pamphlet in the Library of Congress at Washington, from which a transcript was made for this work under the direction of the Librarian. The narrative as published in the New York "Mercury" of December 31, 1759, was republished under the auspices of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec: Historical Documents, Second Series, 1868.

##### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Journal of the Particular Transactions of the Siege of Quebec, by an Officer of Fraser's Highlanders." This journal was contributed many years ago by Mr. Noble to "Notes and Queries" from a manuscript in the possession of Mr. Galloway, of Inverness. It was republished in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 167-189.

## QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Extract from a Manuscript Journal, relating to the Operations before Quebec in 1759, kept by Colonel Malcolm Fraser, Then Lieutenant of the 78th (Fraser's Highlanders,) and serving in that Campaign." Published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec: Historical Documents, Second Series, 1868.

## QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Memoirs of the Siege of Quebec, Capital of All Canada, and Of the Retreat of Monsieur de Bourlemaque, From Carillon to the Isle aux Noix In Lake Champlain, From the Journal of a French Officer On Board the Chezine Frigate, Taken by his Majesty's Ship Rippon. Compared with the Accounts transmitted Home by Major General Wolfe, and Vice-Admiral Saunders; With Occasional Remarks. By Richard Gardner, Esq; Captain of Marines in the Rippon. . . . London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, in Pallmall. MDCCLXI." Because of the expert opinions and observations from both French and English standpoints which this work contains, it is one of the most valuable contemporary records of the siege of Quebec. It fixes the position of the British Army after the ascent of the Cliff, the route taken to the battlefield along the Ste. Foye road, and designates the houses on the left occupied by the British Light Infantry, before the arrival of the French on the Heights. A translation of a portion of this Journal is incorporated into the work of Captain Knox. The original pamphlet is very scarce; there is a copy in the Public Archives of Canada. It has been reprinted in "Siege of Quebec," vol. iv. pp. 231-258.

## QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Siège de Quebec en 1759. Copie d'après un manuscrit apporté de Londres, par l'Honorable D. B. Viger, lors de son retour en Canada, *En Septembre 1834—Mai 1835*. Copie d'un manuscrit déposé à la Bibliothèque de Hartwell en Angleterre. Quebec: Des presses de Frechette & Cie, No. 8, Rue Lamontagne. 1836." The original bears the following note: "Presented to the Hartwell Library by W. H. Smith, R.N. This MS. was given to Captain Smith by Captain (now Commodore) Schomberg, the Son of Sir Alex. Schomberg, who wrote the notes in the margin." The Journal covers the period from the 1st May to the 10th September, and contains very interesting details of the early days of the siege. Pages 38 to 41 contain a translation of the Memorial sent by Lieut. Jean Denis de Vitre to the Right Honourable William Pitt regarding the services of his father, a pilot of the English Fleet in the operations against Quebec. This manuscript was part of the library of John Lee, in Hartwell House, London. His manuscripts were sold in 1894, and the fate of this volume is unknown.

## QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Journal Abrégé de la Campagne de 1759 en Canada, par M. M. . . . Ayde de Camp de M. le Mis de Montcalm." Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 283-301. This Journal appears to be that of the aide-de-camp Marcel; the original is in the possession of Madame de Saint Sauveur Bougainville.

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### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Relation du Siège de Québec." Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 303-326. The original is in the possession of Madame de Saint Sauveur Bougainville. It contains many valuable notes. An incomplete copy of this document was published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in its "Evénements de la Guerre en Canada" (1861), pp. 1-15, from an original in the Archives du Département de la Guerre, Paris. A translation of the same copy is in "Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York," vol. x. pp. 993-1001.

### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Relation de ce qui s'est passé au Siège de Québec, et de la prise du Canada; par une Religieuse de l'Hopital Général de Québec: adressée à une Communauté de son Ordre en France. Imprimé au Bureau du Mercury rue Buade [Quebec] 1855." The reverend sister who is the authoress of this account of the battle of the Plains, states distinctly, on page 9, that the sisters could see the engagement from the windows of the hospital.

### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Mémoire sur la Campagne de 1759 depuis le mois de Mai jusqu'en Septembre. Par M. Joannès, Major de Québec." Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. iv. pp. 219-229. The original is in the Archives de la Guerre, in Paris.

### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Extrait d'un Journal tenue à l'armée que commandait feu M. le Marquis de Montcalm, Lieutenant Général." Published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in "Evénements de la Guerre en Canada durant les années 1759 et 1760" (pp. 29-78), which, bound up with the "Memoire du Sieur de Ramezay," forms the First Series of Historical Documents, published by the Society in 1861.

### QUEBEC, SIEGE OF.

"Siège de Québec en 1759. (Journal Précis de ce qui s'est passé de plus intéressant en Canada, depuis la nouvelle de la flotte de M. Canon, tenu par M. Jean Claude Panet, ancien Notaire de Québec.)" Published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec: Historical Documents, Fourth Series, 1875.

### RAYMOND.

"Glimpses of the Past. History of the River St. John A.D. 1604-1784. By Rev. W. O. Raymond, LL.D. St. John, N.B. 1905."

### RÉCHER.

Journaux de M. Jean Félix Récher, Curé de Québec. Published by Mgr. H. Têtu in the "Bulletin des Recherches Historiques," vol. ix., April-December 1903. These Journals cover the period from June 5, 1757, to September 8, 1760. The curé was robbed and wounded by a



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British soldier on the night of November 7, 1759. He was then removed to the Convent of the Ursulines, and came into contact with many of the British officers during the winter of 1759-60.

## ROGERS.

"Journals of Major Robert Rogers: containing An Account of the several Excursions he made under the Generals who commanded upon the Continent of North America, during the late War. From which may be collected The most material Circumstances of every Campaign upon that Continent, from the Commencement to the Conclusion of the War. London: Printed for the Author, And sold by J. Millan, Bookseller, near Whitehall. MDCCCLXV." A new edition, edited by Franklin B. Hough, with many documents and notes, was published at Albany in 1883.

## ROY.

"La Famille Juchereau Duchesnay par Pierre-Georges Roy. . . . Lévis. 1903." See vol. ii. p. 63 n.

## ROY.

"Les Noms Géographiques de la Province de Québec par Pierre-Georges Roy. Lévis. 1906."

## ROYAL MAGAZINE.

"The Royal Magazine or Gentleman's Monthly Companion . . . London: Printed, pursuant to his Majesty's Royal Licence, for J. Coote, at the King's Arms in Pater Noster Row." Vols. I. and II.: 1759-1760.

## SAMOS.

"L'Habitation de Samos. Par M. P.-B. Casgrain." In "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," Second Series, vol. xii. (1906-1907), Section I., pp. 3-35.

## SAUNDERS.

Letters of Admiral Charles Saunders. Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. vi. pp. 110-122. The originals are in the Public Record Office, London, Admirals' Despatches, N.A., vol. iii.

## SEVENTEENTH LANCERS.

"History of the Seventeenth Lancers. By the Hon. J. W. Fortescue. Macmillan and Co., Limited St. Martin's Street, London." See vol. i. p. 223 n.

## SOCIETY FOR BRITISH TROOPS.

"An Account of the Society For the Encouragement of the British Troops In Germany and North America. With the Motives to the making a present to those troops, also to the widows and orphans of such of them as have died in defence of their country, particularly at the battles of Thonhausen Quebec &c. *With an Alphabetical List of the Subscribers to this Benevolent Design, and a State of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Society.* London. M.DCC.LX."

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S.P.G.

"Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1892 (With much supplementary information) Fourth Edition (Containing many additions) London Published at the Society's Office 19 Delahay Street, Westminster, S.W. 1894."

STOBO.

"Memoirs of Major Robert Stobo of the Virginia Regiment, with a plan of Fort Duquesne in 1764, made by the author. Pittsburgh, 1854." A very curious but not strictly accurate journal.

SUSANE.

"Histoire de l'ancienne Infanterie Française par Louis Susane Chef d'escadron d'artillerie. . . . Paris, Librairie Militaire, Maritime et Polytechnique de J. Corréard, Libraire-Éditeur et Libraire-Commissionnaire, Rue Christine, 1." Eight Volumes: 1848-1853.

TANGUAY.

"Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes depuis la fondation de la colonie jusqu'à nos jours par Mgr Cyprien Tanguay. . . . Montréal, (Canada) Eusèbe Senécal & Fils, Imprimeurs-Éditeurs." Seven volumes: 1871-1890.

TOWNSHEND.

Letters and Papers relating to the Siege of Quebec in the possession of the Marquess Townshend. Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 191-281. Among these is a Journal of the Voyage to America and Campaign against Quebec, 1759, from a note-book or rough diary apparently in Townshend's own handwriting.

TOWNSHEND.

"Historical Manuscripts Commission. Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part IV. The Manuscripts of the Marquess Townshend. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. London: Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, By Eyre and Spottiswoode, Printers to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. . . . 1887." This Report contains a catalogue, not complete, of the papers relating to the siege of Quebec.

TOWNSHEND.

Letter of Brigadier-General George Townshend to the Hon. William Pitt, dated "Camp before Quebeck Sepr ye 20th 1759." Published in "Siege of Quebec," vol. v. pp. 216-219. This is the official account of the battle of the Plains. It has been published many times: in Jefferys, Knox, and others, alterations have been made in the orthography and in the construction of some of the sentences. The original is in the Public Record Office, London, A. & W.I., vol. 88, from which the exact text was printed in "Siege of Quebec."

TOWNSHEND.

"The Military Life of Field-Marshal George First Marquess Townshend 1724-1807 who took part in the Battles of Dettingen 1743, Fontenoy 1745, Culloden 1746 Laffeldt 1747, & in the Capture of Quebec 1759 from Family Documents not hitherto published by Lt.-Colonel C. V. F. Townshend, C.B., D.S.O. Royal Fusiliers With Plans and Illustrations. London John Murray, Albemarle Street 1901."

URSULINES.

"Glimpses of the Monastery. Scenes from the History of the Ursulines of Quebec during two hundred years, 1639-1839; by a Member of the Community. Second Edition: Revised, Augmented and Completed by Reminiscences of the last fifty years; 1839-1889. A. M. D. G. Quebec: Printed by L. & J. Demers & Frère, 30, De la Fabrique street, 1897."

URSULINES.

"Les Ursulines de Québec, depuis Leur Établissement Jusqu'à Nos Jours. A. M. D. G. . . . Québec: Des Presses de C. Darveau, 8, rue Lamontagne, Basse-Ville." Four volumes: 1863-1866.

VAUDREUIL.

Letters of Vaudreuil. Lévis and Dumas in 1760. Copied from the originals in the possession of M. de la Rogerie; published in "Report concerning Canadian Archives for 1905," vol. i. part iv. The copies from which these letters were published are in the Canadian Archives.

WINSLOW.

"Journal of Colonel John Winslow, of the Provincial Troops, while engaged in removing the Acadian French Inhabitants from Grand Pre, and the neighbouring settlements, in the autumn of the year 1755." Published in "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," vol. iii. pp. 71-196. The original is in the library of the Historical Society of Massachusetts.

WITHERSPOON.

Journal of John Witherspoon. Published in "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," vol. ii. pp. 31-62. "John Witherspoon, one of the early settlers in Annapolis, was taken by the Indians, in 1757, while cutting wood on the Mountain, near the Fort at Annapolis, sold to the French, and carried to Quebec, where he was kept a prisoner, as told in his journal, until the capture of that city by Wolfe, in 1759." The Journal, when copied, was in very bad condition.

WOLFE.

Letter of General Wolfe to the Brigadiers "Head Quarters, Montmorency Augst 1759," reply of the Brigadiers General to General Wolfe, undated, and "Plan of operations in consequence of the above answer." These have been published several times: see "Life of Townshend," pp. 203-208; "Siege of Quebec," vol. ii. pp. 237-243. The originals are in the British Museum, Add. 32,895.

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### WOLFE.

Letter of James Wolfe to Vice-Admiral Saunders, August 30, 1759. Published in the "Gentleman's Magazine," June 1801. A preliminary note, signed P., addressed to Mr. Urban, refers to this letter: "It is part of a collection now in my hands by the same general officer during that arduous expedition; . . . is wholly in the General's own hand-writing, and may be acceptable to some of your military readers."

### WOLFE.

Letter of General Wolfe to Mr. Secretary Pitt, Headquarters at Montmorenci, September 2nd, 1759. The original is in the British Museum, Add. 32,875 f. H. 121 to 124. The letter has been published many times, in works on Wolfe and on the siege of Quebec.

### WOLFE.

Letter of Wolfe to Colonel Burton, "Sutherland above Carouge, Monday, September 11 [*sic*], 1759." Published in the European Magazine, vol. xiii, February 1788. Outlines the plan of attack which was executed on September 13.

### WOLFE.

"General Orders in Wolfe's Army during the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence, 1759." Published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec: Historical Documents, Fourth Series, 1875. This edition was from a copy said to have been originally the property of the Hon. George Allsopp, private secretary to Guy Carleton. There is a manuscript copy in the Canadian Archives.

### WOLFE.

"An Address before the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, in the Hall of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, Tuesday, September 13th, 1859. The Hundredth Anniversary of the Death of Major-General James Wolfe, with passages omitted in the delivery, and illustrative Notes and Documents. By Lorenzo Sabine. Boston: Published by A. Williams & Co., for the Society. 1859."

### WOLFE.

"The Life of Major-General James Wolfe founded on Original Documents and Illustrated by his Correspondence, including numerous unpublished letters contributed from the family papers of noblemen and gentlemen, descendants of his companions. By Robert Wright. . . . London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly. 1864."

### WOLFE.

"The Life and Letters of James Wolfe by Beckles Willson. . . . With many Illustrations and Plans. London William Heinemann 1909."

### WOOD.

"The Fight for Canada A Naval and Military Sketch from the History of the Great Imperial War By William Wood . . . Westminster Archibald Constable & Co Ltd, 2 Whitehall Gardens. 1904".

WOOD.

"The Logs of the Conquest of Canada Edited, with an introduction, by Lt.-Colonel William Wood, author of 'The Fight for Canada.' Toronto The Champlain Society 1909." This work contains extracts from the log books of several vessels which took part in the operations in the St. Lawrence. See "Logs of the British Fleet" in the "Manuscripts" section of this list.

WOODHULL.

"A Journal kept by General Nathaniel Woodhull, When Colonel of the 3d Regiment New York Provincials, in the Expedition to Montreal, in 1760." Published in "The Historical Magazine" (New York), vol. v. No. 9 (September, 1861).

WYNNE.

"A General History of the British Empire in America: Containing, An Historical, Political, and Commercial View of the English Settlements; including all the Countries in North-America, and the West-Indies, ceded by the Peace of Paris. In two volumes. By Mr. Wynne. . . . London, Printed for W. Richardson and L. Urquhart, under the Royal-Exchange. MDCCCLXX."

### III. MAPS

#### I. CANADA AND THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE

A SERIES of four maps which, with the notes, form a very complete census of the parishes on the St. Lawrence. These four plans, measuring over 42 feet in length, were surveyed under the direction of General Murray by Captain Holland and others, and they are frequently referred to as either the Murray Map or the Holland Map. They are all original coloured MS, bearing the Board of Ordnance Stamp:

a. "PLAN OF THAT PART OF CANADA AND THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE, WHICH LIES BETWEEN POINT DU LAC AND REPENTIGNY ON THE NORTH SHORE, AND NICOLETTE AND VARRENES ON THE SOUTH; containing the Lake St. Pierre and all the Islands lying immediately above it in the River St. Lawrence, also all the Islands formed by the Rivers Nicolette, St. Francis, Iamaska, Masquinonge, &c., which empty themselves into the Lake . . . containing also the River Sorel from where it falls into the St. Lawrence to the Isle des Noix on Lake Champlain where it takes its rise, and the River Assumption as far as the last Settlements . . . with all the Villages, Fortified Posts, Habitations, and cultivated Country throughout the whole Extent. . . . The whole from a Survey carried on under the Direction of the Honourable Brigadier General Murray, Governor of Quebec. . . . The Tract of Country contained in this Plan

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was Surveyed by the Following Officers, viz. . . . All the South Shore from Veraine to Nicolet, and the River Sorel to St. Ours, also the Islands Dupas, St. Ignace, Madame de Grace, au Pierre du Moine, and the Isle au Basque, by Capt. Holland of the Royal American Regiment. . . . The Islands of Bouchard and Contrecoeur by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Peach of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment. . . . From Repentigny to Bertier by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Montresor, Engineer. . . . From Bertier to Point du Lac and the Rivers Assomption and Bertier and the Rest of the Islands at the entrance of the Lake, by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Fusier, of the Royal American Rgt., as was also the remainder of the River Sorel as far as Isle aux Noix." 136 x 90.

b. "PLAN OF THAT PART OF CANADA AND THE RIVER St. LAWRENCE, WHICH LIES BETWEEN THE COTEAU DES CEDRES, THE UPPERMOST SETTLEMENTS OF CANADA AND THE ISLAND OF St. THERESE; containing the Island of Montreal, Isle Jesus, Isle Bisare, Isle Perault, &c., the Lakes of St. Louis, les deux Montagnes, &c., formed by the River St. Lawrence; the City of Montreal, all the Villages, fortified posts, habitations, and cultivated Country throughout the whole Extent. . . . The whole from a Survey carried on under the directions of the Honourable Brigadier General Murray, Governour of Quebec, &c. The Tract of Country contained in this Plan was Surveyed by the following Officers, viz<sup>t</sup>. From Longueil to Varrenes on the South Shore, and from the City of Montreal to Long Point on the Island of Montreal by Cap<sup>t</sup>. Holland, of the Royal American Regiment. From la Chine to the City of Montreal, and from Long Point to the lower end of the Island, also from Cocnawaga Castle on the South Shore to the Island Huron, with the Island of St. Paul, by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Montresor, Engineer. . . . The Islands of Boucherville, St. Heleine, Therese, &c., near the South Shore, by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Peach of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment. The remaining part of the Island of Montreal, the Island of Issue, Isle Bisare, Isle Perault, &c., with all the Tract of Country on both Shores, not already mentioned, as far as the Coteau des Cedres, by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Fusier of the Royal American Regiment."

A scale of 5 miles 2000 yards to an inch. 106 x 65.

c. "PLAN OF THAT PART OF CANADA AND THE RIVER St. LAWRENCE, WHICH LIES BETWEEN CAPE TORMENT AND DESCHAMBEAUX ON THE NORTH SHORE, POINT DE LA CAILLE AND LOTHINIERE ON THE SOUTH, in which the City of Quebec and all the Villages, habitations, and cultivated Country in that extent are accurately laid down, with all the different places of Landing and Embarkations, the Encampments, Entrenchments, lines of Battle, and principal movements of the British and French Armies while this Country was a Seat of War. . . . The whole from a Survey carried on under the direction of the Honourable Brigadier General Murray, Governour of Quebec, &c. The tract of Country contained in this Plan was surveyed by the following Officers, viz<sup>t</sup>. . . . From St. Augustin to the River Montmorency on the North Shore, and from St. Nicholas to Pointe à la Ecaille on the South, with all the back Settlements, also the Parishes on the South River by Cap<sup>t</sup>. Holland of the Royal American Regiment. . . . The Island of Orleans, surveyed by Cap<sup>t</sup>. L<sup>t</sup>. Spry, Engineer. . . . From Dechambeaux to St.

Augustine on the North and Lotbinière to St. Antoine on the South Shore by Lieut. Peach of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment. From St. Antoine to St. Nicholas on the South, from Montmorency to Cape Tourment on the North Shore by Ens. Pittman of the 15<sup>th</sup> Regiment."

Scale, 8 statute miles, 2000 feet to an inch. 170 x 61.

d. "PLAN OF THAT PART OF CANADA AND THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE WHICH LIES BETWEEN DECHAMBEAUX AND POINTE DU LAC ON THE NORTH SHORE, LOTBINIERE AND ST. THERESE ON THE SOUTH, in which the Town of Trois Rivières and all the Villages, habitations, and cultivated country in that extent are accurately laid down. . . . The whole from a Survey carried on under the direction of the Honourable Brigadier General Murray, Governour of Quebec. With notes giving details of the parishes. The tract of Country contained in this Plan was surveyed by the following Officers, viz.: From Point du Lac to Cape Magdelaine on both Shores by Cap<sup>t</sup>. Holland of the Royal American Regiment. . . . From Cape Magdelaine to Batiscant River on both Shores by Lieut. Fuser of the Royal Canadian Reg<sup>t</sup>. From Batiscant River to Dechambeaux on both shores, by Lieut. Peach of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regt."

Inset—"Continuation of the Chaudière River, by Lieut. Haldimand of the Royal American Reg<sup>t</sup>."

Scale of 8 statute miles, 2000 feet to an inch. 98 x 60.

Original in Map Division, Canadian Archives.

The legends entered on these maps are printed in "Catalogue of Maps, Plans and Charts in the Map Room of the Dominion Archives Classified and Indexed by H. R. Holmden Ottawa Government Printing Bureau 1912," pp. 597-625.

## 2. BATTLE OF THE PLAINS

"PLAN OF THE TOWN OF QUEBEC, THE CAPITAL OF CANADA, IN NORTH AMERICA, WITH THE BASIN AND A PART OF THE ADJACENT COUNTRY, shewing the principal Encampments and Works of the British Army Commanded by Major General Wolfe, and those of the French Army Commanded by Lieutenant General the Marquis of Montcalm, during the Siege of that Place in 1759. N.B.—The British Works are coloured yellow and their Encampments red, with the Facings of the different Corps. The French Works and Encampments are coloured blue.

"With copious References to: Encampment upon the Point of Orleans; Encampment upon Point Levi; Batteries and Works at Point des Peres; Encampment near the Falls of Montmorency; Encampment and Works of the Frer along the Coast of Beauport; Descent of British Troops upon Beauport; Battle of 13th Sept. upon the Hauteur D'Abraham; British Encampment and Works upon the Hauteur D'Abraham after the Victory. N.B.—The different ports were surveyed as follows, viz.: The east side of the falls of Montmorency, the Point of Orleans, and the South side of the River St. Lawrence, by Capt. Deobieg, Engr. in Ordinary. The coast of Beauport from the River St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorency, by Capt. Holland of the Royal Americans, assistant

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Engineer; The ground between the River St. Lawrence and the River St. Charles, by Lieut. Des-Barres of the Royal Americans, Asst. Engr.; Town of Quebec (with references) from a French Plan, Pat Mackellar, Major and Chief Engineer."

Scale of 800 feet to an inch. 76 x 25.

Coloured MS. Original in Map Division, Canadian Archives.

### 3. BATTLE OF STE. FOY

"PLAN OF THE BATTLE FOUGHT THE 28TH OF APRIL, 1760, UPON THE HEIGHT OF ABRAHAM, near Quebec, between the British Troops Garrisoned in that place and the French Army that came to besiege it. The whole effectives of the Garrison amounted to about 3000 men only. They were commanded by the Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Brig<sup>de</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Murray, Governor. The French Army was Commanded by the Chevalier de Levi, and amounted to upwards of 12,000 men, of which there were Ten Battalions of Regulars, the rest were Canadians and Indians. The British came out in two columns, one by St. John's gate, the other by St. Lewis's gate; the French came along the road from St. Fois, and would have been attacked before they could form, if the difficulties of the snow and ground had not retarded the advancing of our cannon, which deprived us of a great advantage." This map has copious References to the first forming of the British Troops, their position during the action, the positions of the French Troops, with their Body of Reserve. References to the Town and Works of the Besiegers. Amongst the references is the following concise account of the Battle: "The action, which lasted full three hours, was chiefly upon the flanks; there the enemy made all their efforts without making scarce any attempt upon the Center, tho their numbers were sufficient to make a push there likewise: But even upon the flanks we for some time gained considerable advantages. Upon the right our Infantry beat back their Grenadiers from the house and windmill, but they unluckily pursued too far to be sustained, and suffered accordingly; they were beat back in their turn with such a loss as to appear no more in action; upon our left we gained a good deal of ground; the Volunteers and Grenadiers of the 28th drove the enemy out of the two redoubts Y and Z; they kept possession of them for some time, but being at length surrounded, they were obliged to force their way back. The enemy had now overpowered our flanks with such superior numbers as left us no more hopes of success; a retreat began of its own accord, in which it must be observed that the Redoubt W was of great service, and kept the Enemy at bay for about ten minutes, which saved our rear and many of our wounded from being cut off from the town; this was one of the works designed to fortify the Heights: it was raised only a few fascings high on account of the frosts, but there being two pickets left there during the action it deceived the enemy as a compleat work; we brought off only two pieces of artillery, it was impracticable to bring off the rest on account of the snow. X Y Z are Redoubts raised by us at the Siege, 1759, but were not thought of consequence enough to be



demolished when the other works were. N.B.—The dead, all the wounded men and several of the wounded officers who could not get off the field were as usual, every one, scalped for the entertainment of the Conqueror."

The notes are continued to the raising of the siege on May 17-17 at night.

Scale, 800 feet to an inch. 16 x 24½.

Original, coloured MS. signed "Pat. Mackellar, Major, Chf. Engr., 1760."

In Map Division, Canadian Archives. Reproduced in "Report concerning Canadian Archives for the year 1905," vol. i. part iv. p. 4.

4. "PLAN OF PART OF THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE, FROM MONTREAL TO THE PARISH OF BERTHIER ON THE NORTH AND TO SOREL ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE RIVER, by John Montessor, Sub. Engineer and Lieut.; Samuel Holland, Capt. and Assist Engineer. This map covers the portion of the St. Lawrence surveyed by John Montessor, for the Murray Survey, viz.: from Montreal to Repentigny, in one section, and from Repentigny to Berthier in another. It is, however, of earlier date than the Murray Survey, as is shown by an endorsement, 'North America. British America Part of the St. Lawrence from Montreal to Berthier and Sorel, Lt. Montessor, 25th March, 1761.' Another endorsement reads: 'Received, 30th Sept., 1761, with Mr. John Montessor's letter, Quebec, 26th March.' Every house along the river front is shewn, with the position of the Churches, Calvaries, and Mills."

Scale, 2000 feet = 1 inch. 126 x 26.

Original coloured MS. bearing the Board of Ordnance stamp.

In Map Division, Canadian Archives.

##### 5. THE KING'S MAP

"PLAN OF THAT PART OF CANADA AND THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE, WHICH LIES BETWEEN CAPE TOURMENT AND DECHAMBEAUX, ON THE NORTH SHORE, POINT DE LA CAILLE AND LAUMINIÈRE, ON THE SOUTH, in which the City of Quebec and all the villages, habitations, and cultivated country in that extent are accurately laid down, with all the different places of landing and embarkations, the encampments, entrenchments, lines of battle, and principal movements of the British and French armies while this country was the seat of war. The whole from a Survey carried on under the directions of the Honourable Brigadier-General Murray, Governour of Quebec, etc. The tract of country contained in this Plan was surveyed by the following Officers: viz. from St. Augustin to the River Montmorency, on the North shore, and from St. Nicholas to Point à la Ecaille, on the South, with all the back settlements, all the Parishes on the South river, by Cap<sup>t</sup> Holland, of the Royal American Regiment; the island of Orleans surveyed by Cap<sup>t</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Spry, Engineer; from Dechambeaux to St. Augustin, on the North, and Lotbinière to St. Antoine, on the South shore, by Lieu<sup>t</sup> Peach, of the 47th Regiment from St. Antoine to St. Nicholas on the South, and from Montmorency to

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Cape Tourment, on the North shore, surveyed by En<sup>d</sup> Pittman, of the 15th Regiment." A Scale of Seven Statute Miles, 2000 Feet to an Inch, 7[ = 469 mm.]. Explanation of the References: 1-93. [With 6 Insets.]

[[1.] "Plan of Quebec with the positions of the Brittish [*sic*] and French Armys on the Heights of Abraham, 13 Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1759." Explanations: a-z. Explanation of the Town of Quebec: A-Z. Repetition Pl<sup>n</sup> No. 1. 730 × 490 mm.

[2.] "Plan of the Battle and situation of the Brittish [*sic*] and French Armys on the Heights of Abraham, the 28 of April, 1760." Explanen[*sic*]: A-X. Repetition Pl<sup>n</sup> No. 2. 741 × 490 mm.

[3.] "Plan of Quebec and the Heights of Abraham, shewing in particular the French encampment after the Battle of the 28th April [1760], their Batteries and Approaches, also the encampment of the Garrison at their Alarm Posts, and new Works erected by them during the Siege." Explanation: A-R. A Scale of 7000 Feet, for the Repetition Plans No. 1, 2, and 3[ = 222 mm.]. Repetition Pl<sup>n</sup> No. 3. 738 × 523 mm.

[4.] "Fort Jaques Cartier." To a Scale of 800 Feet to an Inch. 232 × 285 mm.

[5.] "Continuation of the Grande Rivere [*sic*] with the Village of Fariole," etc. 430 × 308 mm.

[6.] "The Continuation of the South River as far as Point à La Caille," etc. 295 × 373 mm.) MS.

[Quebec, 1761.] British Museum: K. 119. 27. 5 Tab. End.

(In King George the Third's Collection of Maps.) A facsimile is in the Map Division, Canadian Archives.

6. "SKETCH OF THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE FROM MONTREAL TO THE ISLAND ST. BARNABY ON THE SOUTH SIDE, AND THE ISLANDS OF JEREMY ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE RIVER. By order of His Excellency James Murray, Esq<sup>r</sup>., Governour of Quebec, &c. By Capt<sup>n</sup>. Montresor."

Original MS. Plan in the Map Division, Canadian Archives.

7. "PLAN OF THE RIVER OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL IN NOVA SCOTIA." References. After 1757. Copy of an MS. map in the Library of Congress.

Scale of 3 miles = 4 inches. 39½ × 9.

An uncoloured photograph is in the Map Division, Canadian Archives.

8. "PLAN OF THE RIVER OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL IN NOVA SCOTIA, AMERICA." Original in the Library of Congress, Washington, U.S.A.

Scale of 1 mile = 3 inches. 90 × 15½.

A photographic print is in the Map Division, Canadian Archives.

9. "MAP OF THE RIVER OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL." Surveyed in the year 1733. Corrections from other surveys, &c., 1753.

Scale, 1 mile = 1½ inches. 44½ × 7½.

Map Division, Canadian Archives.

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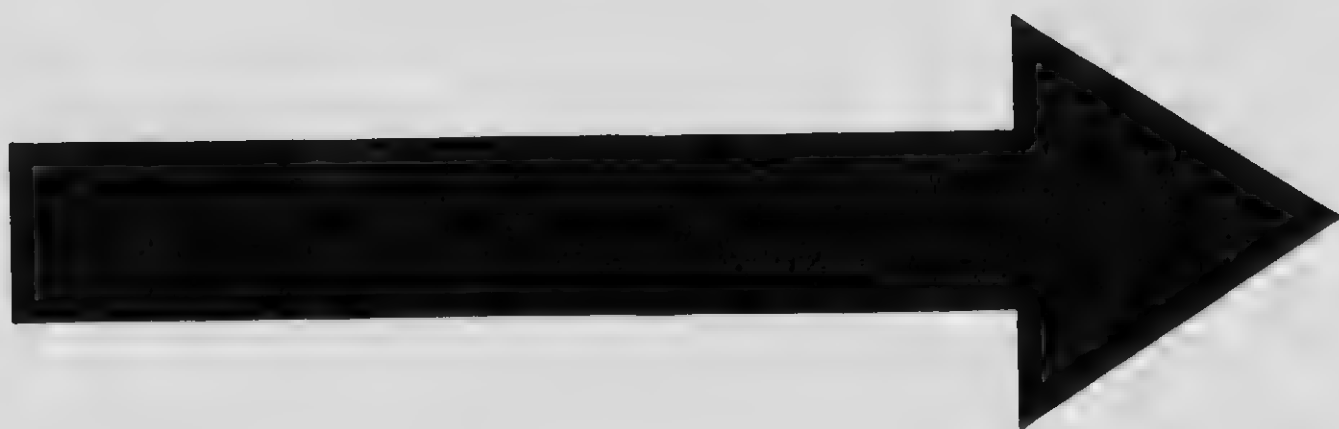
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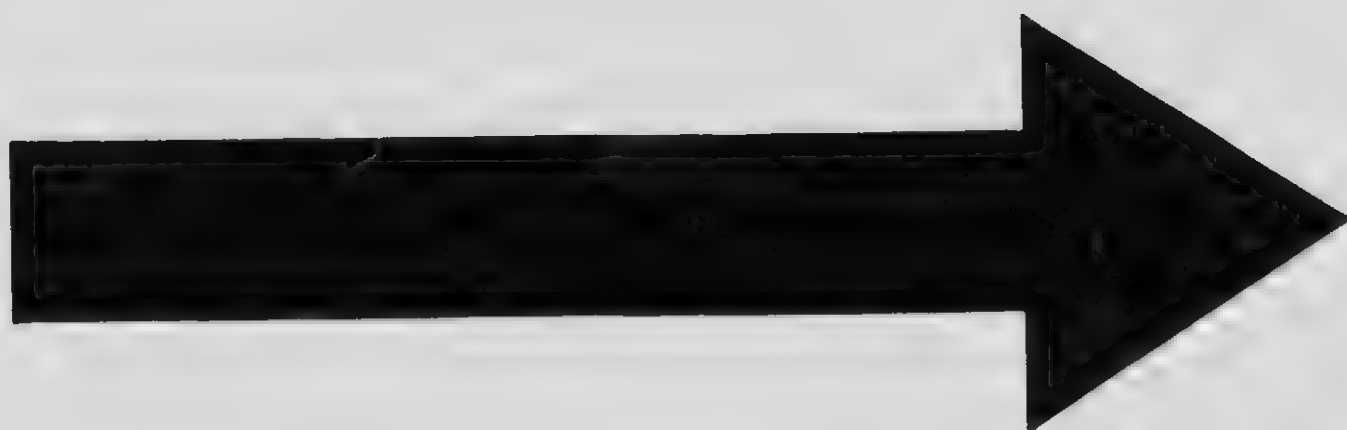
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# MAP

Prepared by the Editor for the Champlain Society's edition of the Journal of John Knox from the Original Manuscript Plan signed by

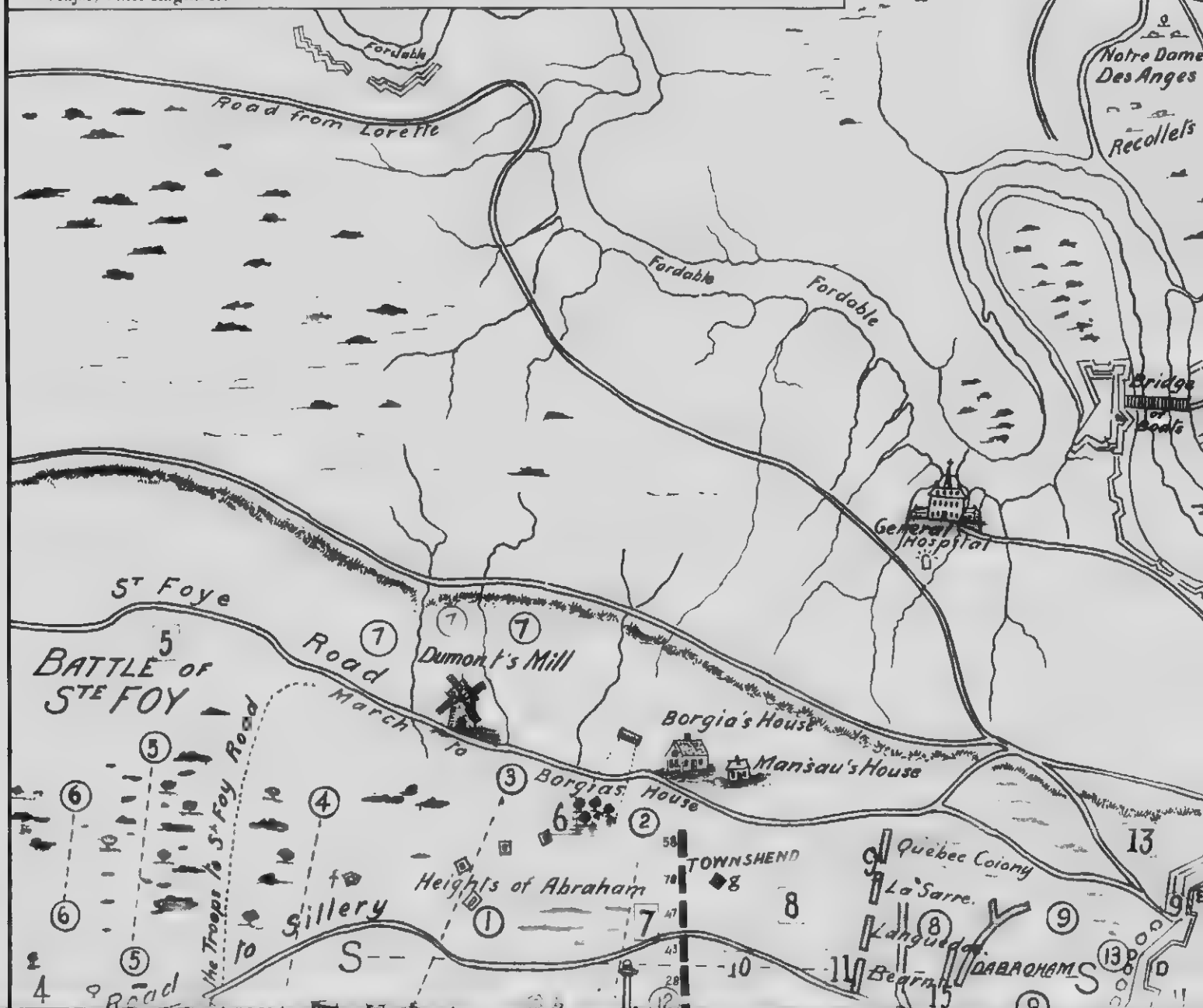
PATRICK MACKELLAR, CHIEF ENGINEER.

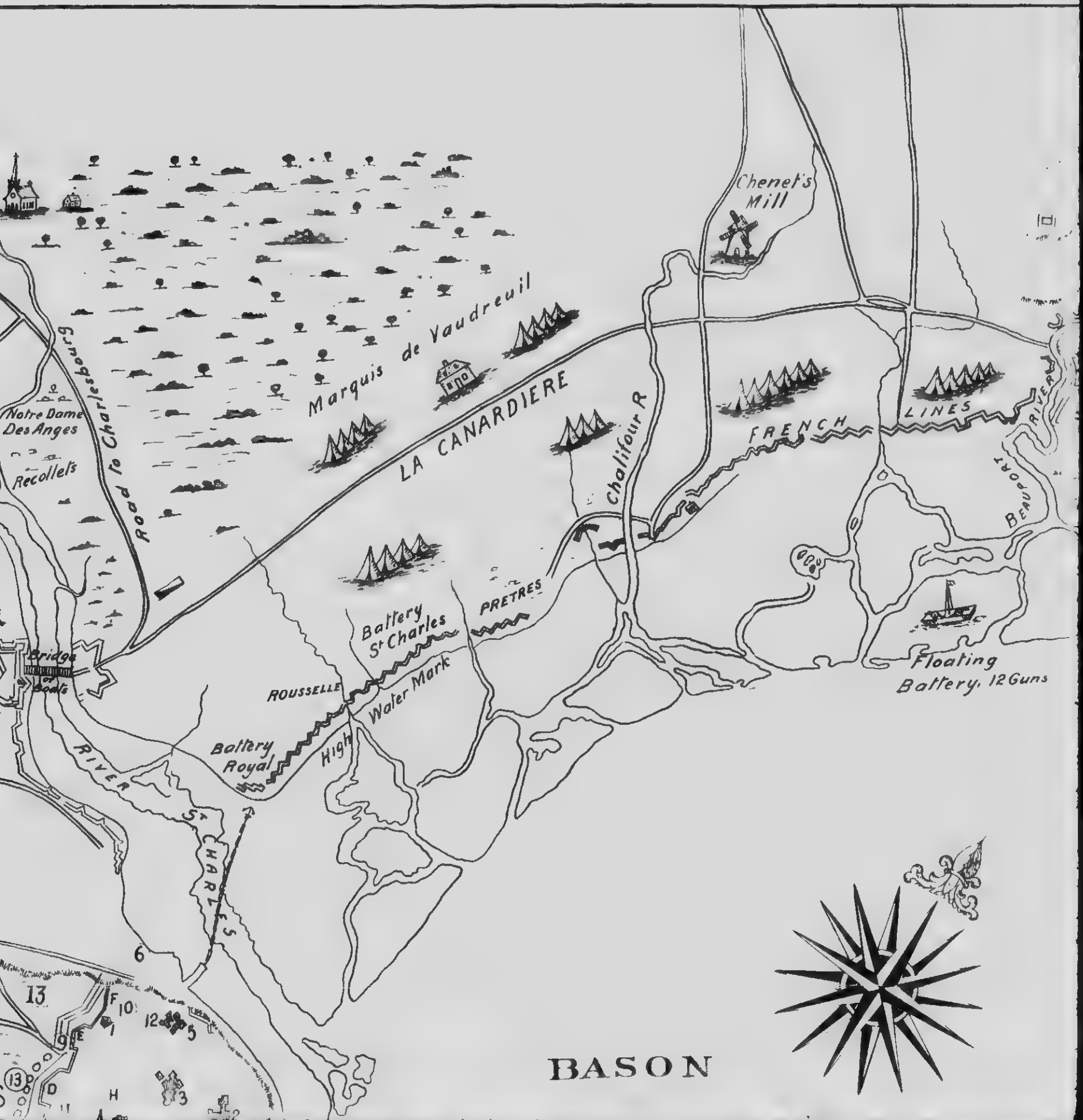
Bearing the following Title:—

PLAN of the TOWN of QUEBEC, the Capital of CANADA in NORTH AMERICA, with the Bason and a part of the Adjacent Country, Shewing the principal Encampments and Works of the British Army Commanded by MAJOR-GENERAL WOLFE, and those of the French Army Commanded by LIEUT. GENERAL the MARQUIS of MONTCALM, during the Siege of that Place in 1759.

N.B.—The different parts were surveyed as follows: viz. The east side of the Falls of Montmorency, The Point of Orleans and the south side of the River St. Lawrence by Capt. Debeig, Engineer in Ordinary. The Coast of Beauport from the River St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorency by Captain Holland of the Royal Americans, Assistant Engineer. The Ground between the River St. Lawrence and the River St. Charles by Lieut. Des Barres of the Royal Americans, Assistant Engineer.

In preparing the notes for the battle of Ste. Foy use has been made of a "Plan of the Battle fought the 28th of April, 1760, upon the Height of Abraham near Quebec," by Patrick Mackellar, Major, Chief Engineer.





PROFILE OF GROUND PARALLEL  
WITH GRAND ALLÉE,

130 Yds. S.

FROM ELEVATIONS TAKEN 26 YEARS  
AFTER THE BATTLE.

Made by J. VALLÉE, C.E.

Scale { Horizontal, 400' to an inch  
Vertical, 20' .. ..

Toulon

A Quebec  
X Wolfe's Line

Gun  
Heights  
British  
XB Montcalm's Line  
of Abraham

MONTCALM'S  
HEADQUARTERS

French  
Encampment

Chevalier de  
Quarte

COAST

BEAUPORT  
BATTERY

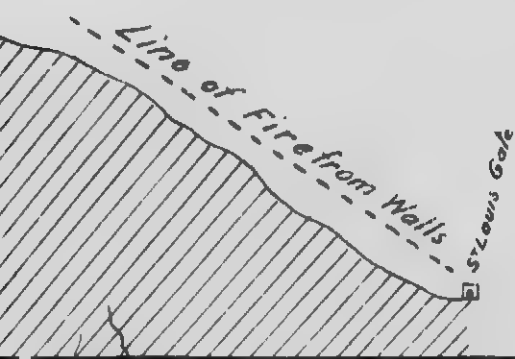
BEAUPORT

POINTE A L'ESSAY.

NO

This section through the Heights of Abraham between Points S-S- shows the advantage of the position chosen by Wolfe. The guns of the City were harmless because MONTCAUM was between the guns and the British.

Abraham.



REPENTIGNY'S CAMP

6

5

Quai de Louis  
Quarters

FALLS  
Wolfe's House

COAST  
of  
BEAUPRES

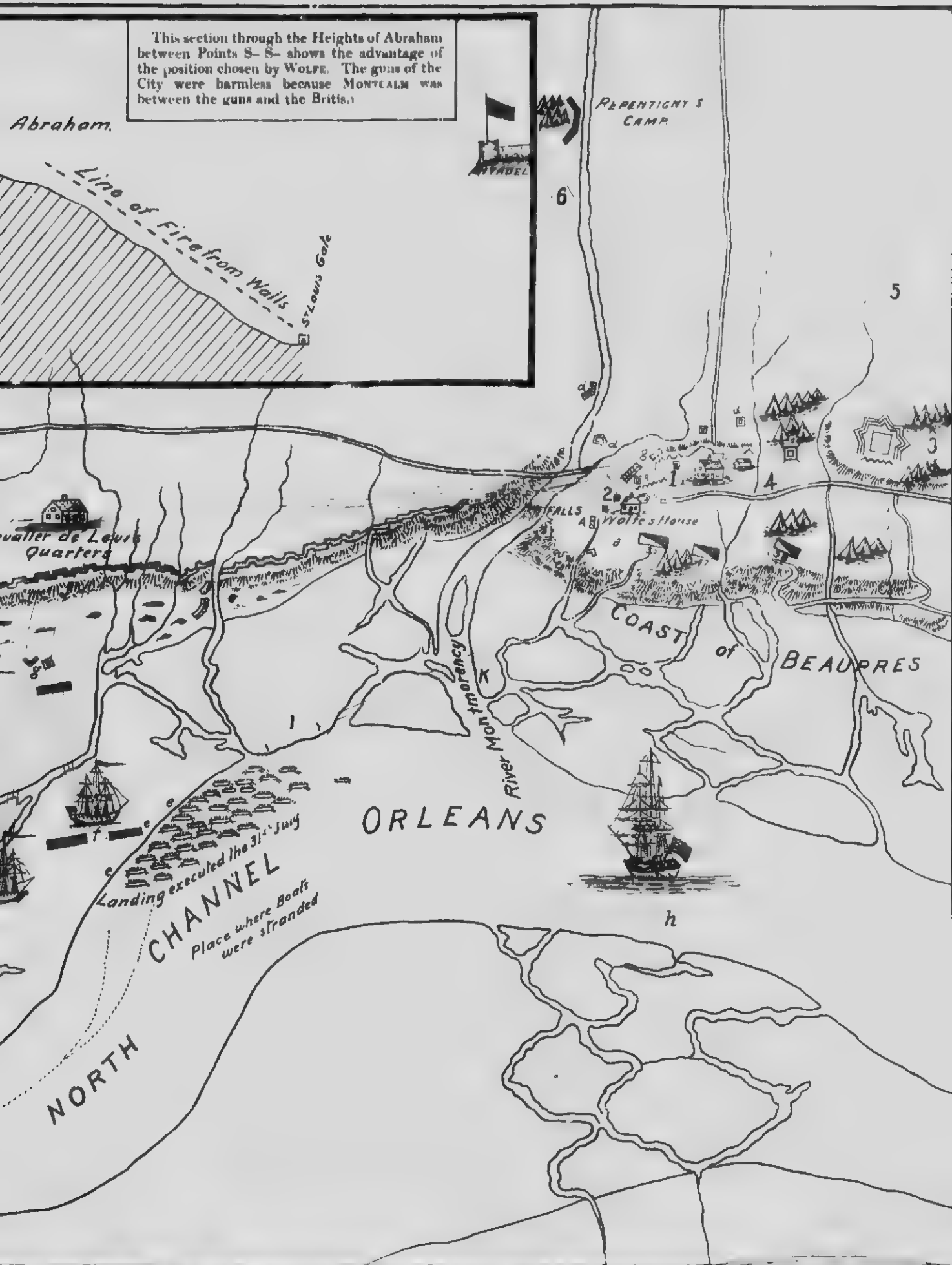
ORLEANS

Landing executed the 31<sup>st</sup> July

CHANNEL  
Place where Boats  
were stranded

NORTH

h





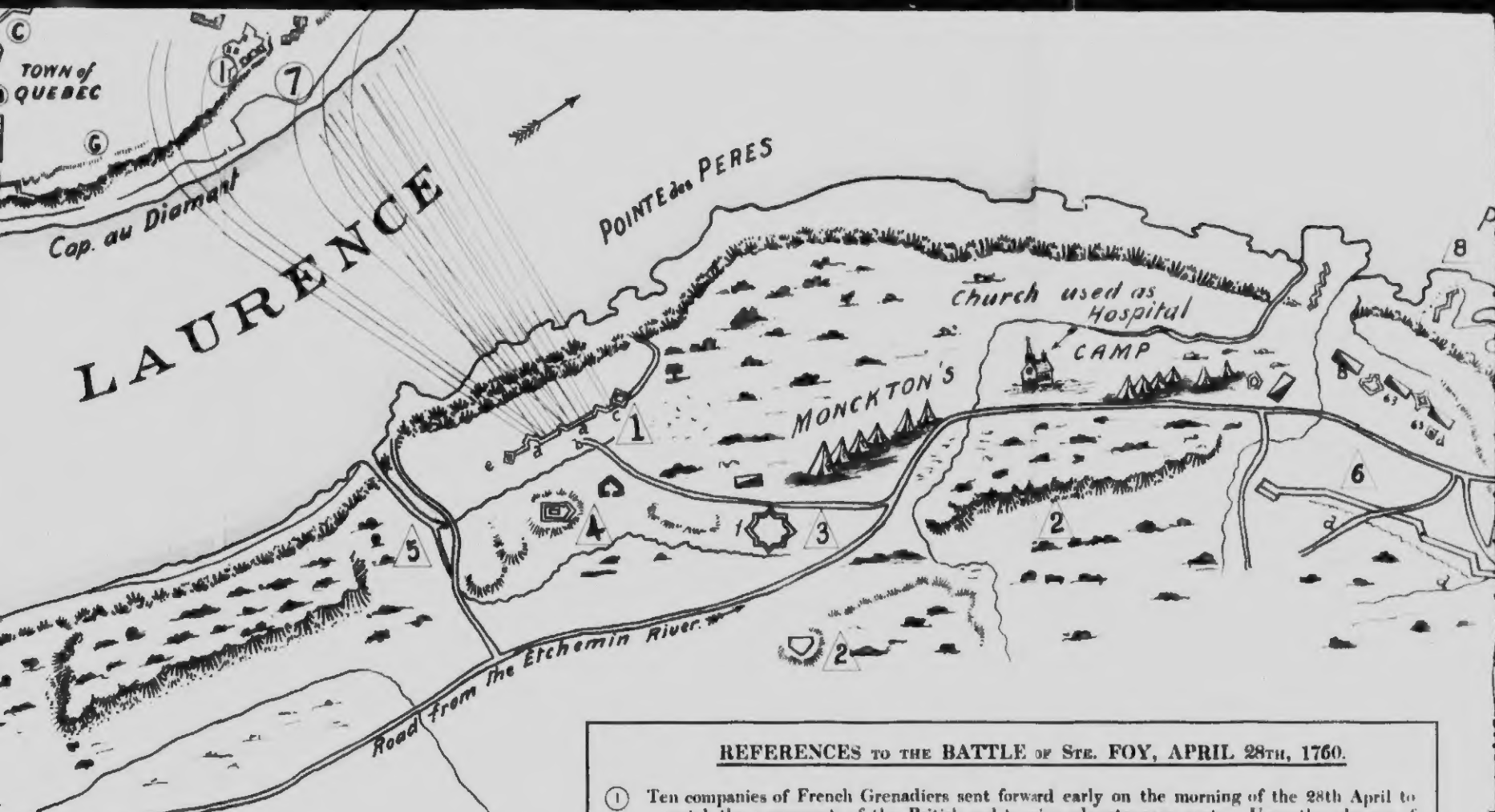
#### REFERENCES TO HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM.

- 1 Samos Battery and House.
- 2 Vergor's Post.
- 3 Place where troops were formed after gaining the heights.
- 4 Place where Bougainville arrived at 11 o'clock on the morning of the 13th September.
- 5 Place where Bougainville appeared at 12 o'clock in rear of British Army.
- 6 Coppice in rear of British line.
- 7 British line formed at 8 o'clock, consisting of 3111 men.
- 8 The Swamp.
- 9 French line formed about 9.30.
- 10 Position of Wolfe at head of line.
- 11 Position of Montcalm at head of line.
- 12 Camp on evening of 13th.
- 13 Place where Canadians made a stand after the battle on the 13th.
- 14 British Camp after the 18th.
- 15 Place near where Montcalm was wounded on the 13th of September.
- Wolfe's Monument.

#### REFERENCE

- 1 Chateau
- 2 Cathedral
- 3 Jesuits
- 4 Ursulines
- 5 Hotel
- 6 Intend
- 7 Notre
- 8 St. Lo
- 9 St. Jo
- 10 Militar
- 11 Esplan
- 12 Palace
- A Cape I
- B La Gl
- C St. Lo
- D Ste. U
- E St. Jo
- F La Po
- G Redou
- H Redou
- I Dauph





#### REFERENCES TO TOWN OF QUEBEC.

- ① Chateau and Fort St. Louis.
- ② Cathedral.
- ③ Jesuits' College.
- ④ Ursuline Convent.
- ⑤ Hotel Dieu.
- ⑥ Intendant's Palace.
- ⑦ Notre Dame de la Victoire.
- ⑧ St. Louis' Gate.
- ⑨ St. John's Gate.
- ⑩ Military Prison.
- ⑪ Esplanade.
- ⑫ Palace Gate.

#### BATTERIES in the TOWN.

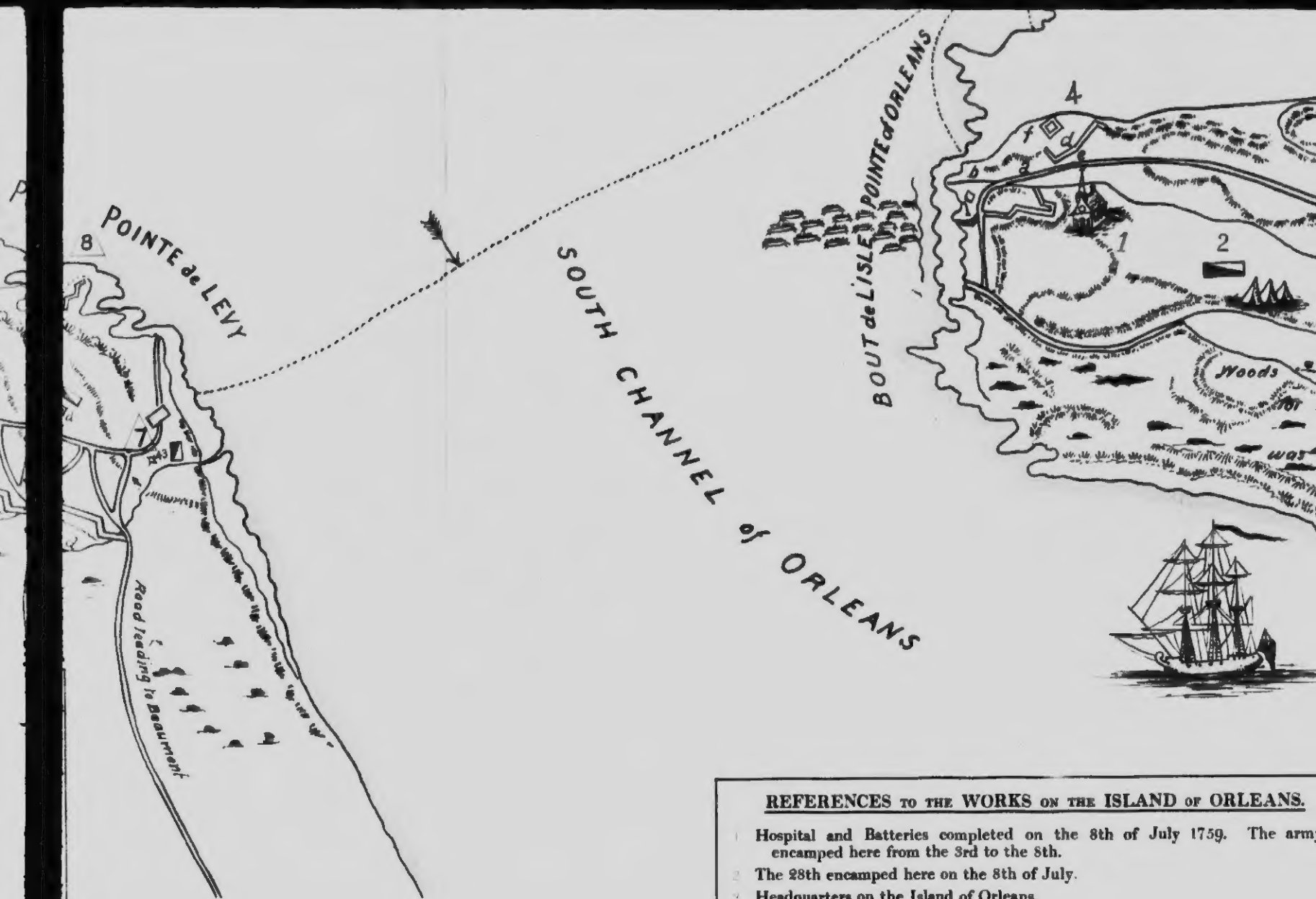
- |   |            |
|---|------------|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(A) Cape Diamond.</li> <li>(B) La Glacière.</li> <li>(C) St. Louis.</li> <li>(D) Ste. Ursule.</li> <li>(E) St. John.</li> <li>(F) La Potasse.</li> </ol> | } Bastion. |
|---|------------|

#### REDOUTS.

- (G) Redoubt of Cape Diamond.
- (H) Redoubt Royal and Barracks.
- (I) Dauphiness's Redoubt and Barracks.

#### REFERENCES TO THE BATTLE OF STE. FOY, APRIL 28TH, 1760.

- ① Ten companies of French Grenadiers sent forward early on the morning of the 28th April to watch the movements of the British and to seize advantageous posts. Upon the advance of the British they retired. Six companies of the Grenadiers then went round to the Ste. Foy road, where they took possession of Dumont's house and mill.
- ② First forming of the British troops, two deep, with 120 volunteers on right, and a company of Rangers on left, slightly in advance of the main body. The regiments formed in the following order, beginning at the Ste. Foy road:—Part of 28th; 15th regt.; 35th regt.; 43rd regt.; 2nd Bat. Royal Americans; 47th regt.; 3rd Bat. Royal Americans; Part of 28th.
- ③ Second position of British troops after the action began. The 35th regt. and the 2nd Bat. R.A. were dropped from the line to form the reserve. The ground in the open was very slippery.
- ④ First forming of the French line four deep. They got into position while the British were moving from ② to ③.
- ⑤ Second position of the French, in which they were favoured by the wood on their right and the snow.
- ⑥ French reserve which advanced with their line.
- ⑦ Position of the French round Dumont's Mill.
- ⑧ Works begun by the French on the evening of the 28th, (a) battery of 4 guns, (b) battery of 6 guns, (c) battery of 3 guns; (d) 2 mortars. All the batteries were opened between the 10th and 13th of May.
- ⑨ Blockhouses constructed by the British during the winter of 1759 to prevent surprise. They proved of great service.
- ⑩ 6 Mortars to prevent British ships from flanking French Camp.
- ⑪ French provision magazine at Foulon.
- ⑫ Wolfe's redoubt, built by the British after the Battle of the Plains, which saved many lives during the retreat.
- ⑬ Barricade of snow barrels set up by the British to protect the works.



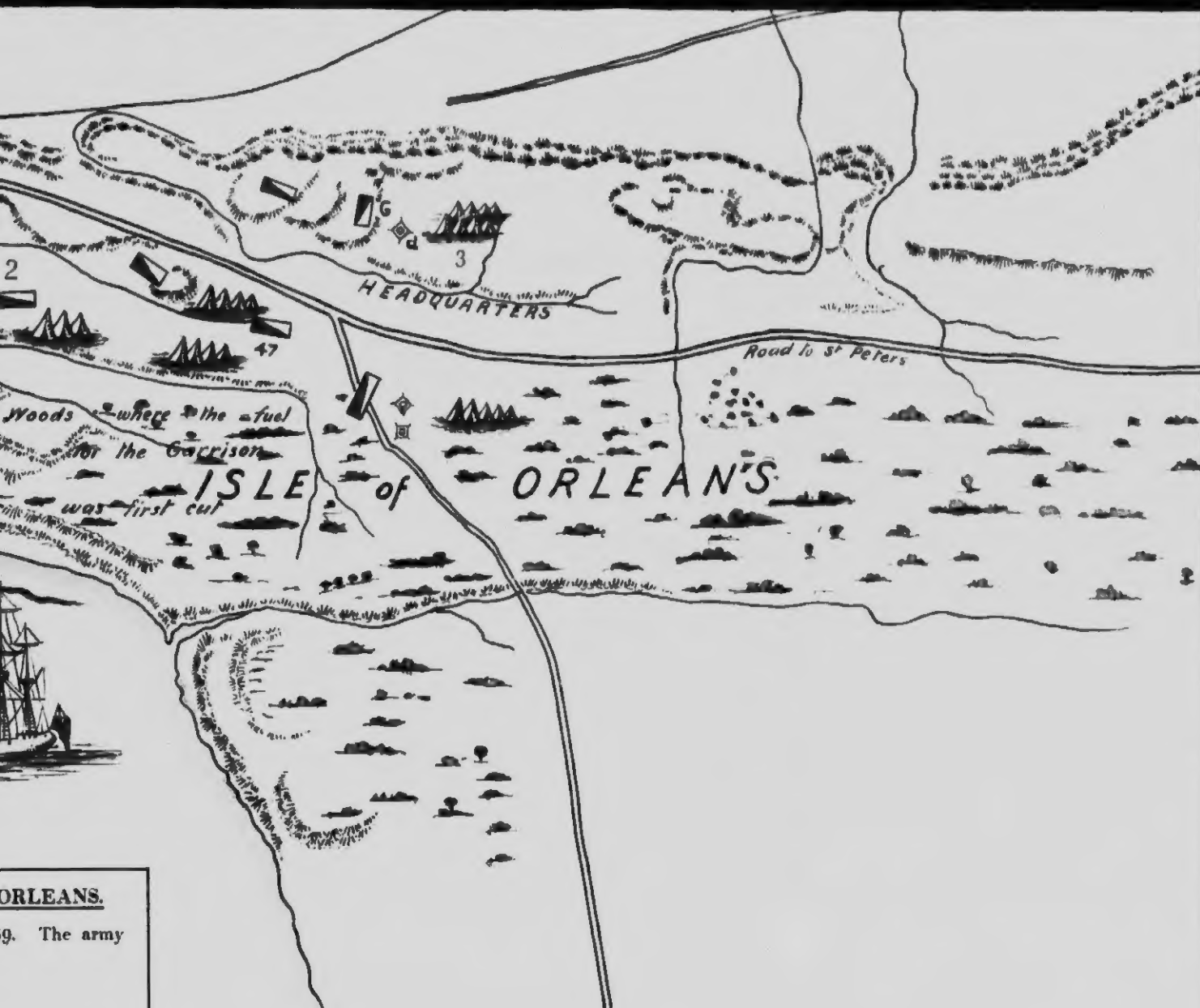
#### REFERENCES TO THE WORKS ON THE ISLAND OF ORLEANS.

- 1 Hospital and Batteries completed on the 8th of July 1759. The army encamped here from the 3rd to the 8th.
- 2 The 28th encamped here on the 8th of July.
- 3 Headquarters on the Island of Orleans.
- 4 Battery to protect North Channel.

#### REFERENCES TO POINTE DE LEVY.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 Batteries at Pointe des Pères to destroy the Lower Town. The shots, indicated by straight lines, fell short and caused great amusement to the French. The guns were replaced by sea mortars, and the shots indicated by curved lines reached the Upper and Lower Town, destroying the principal buildings.</li> <li>2 Posts of Rangers established to prevent surprise by Indians in rear of Camp.</li> <li>3 Corps of 48th Highlanders to support Camp.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4 Advanced Post of Major Dalling's Corps.</li> <li>5 Road to Ferry.</li> <li>6 Lines of Abbatis de Bois for the security of the Camp.</li> <li>7 Forty-Third Regiment, in which the Author served.</li> <li>8 Battery of two Guns to protect the ships from the floating</li> </ol> |
|--|--|





ORLEANS.

9. The army

of the Camp.

or served.

from the floating Batteries.

#### REFERENCES TO THE WORKS AT MONTMORENCY.

- 1 Lines to protect the Regiments run up in three hours by Townshend on the 9th of July 1759.
- 2 Batteries to oppose the French Works on the opposite side of the River which annoyed the British Camp.
- 3 The Light Infantry commanded by Colonel Howe on a high ground which was occupied by the Indians.
- 4 Townshend's Quarters and Barn. The Barn was destroyed on leaving the Camp in September.
- 5 Place where Captain Danks' Rangers were attacked by the Indians on the night of the 9th of July and had so many killed and wounded as to be almost disabled for the rest of the campaign.
- 6 Repentigny's Camp was three-quarters of a mile further up the River. The exact place cannot be shown on this Plan.